AM 1934
Sm
c.1

Boston University
College of Liberal Arts
Library

THE GIFT OF the Author

378.744
BO
AM 1934
SM
c.1

p7933

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE INFLUENCE OF CRÈVECOEUR UPON THE PANTISOCRATIC SCHEME OF SOUTHEY AND COLERIDGE

by

Lucinda Peacock Smith
(A.B. Colby College, 1901)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
1934

HEL

THE INFLUENCE OF CREVECOEUR UPON THE PANTISOCRATIC SCHEME

OF SOUTHEY AND COLERIDGE

I. Pantisocracy - Its Birth and Death. Page 1

A. It is natural for man to dream of an ideal world.

B. Pantisocracy had its beginnings in 1793.

C. It originated with Southey.

D. There were several inciting causes.

1. The French Revolution had inspired Republican sentiments.

2. Southey had read Plotinus's plan for a perfect state.

3. Southey had been interested in Cowley's idea of retiring with his books to a cottage in America.

E. Coleridge met Southey in 1794 at Oxford, and became inflamed with the idea.

F. From London in August, and from Cambridge in September, Coleridge wrote enthusiastic letters about the plan.

G. Southey, too, was busy with plans.

H. On October 17, Southey was disowned by his Aunt Tyler, who disapproved of the scheme.

I. Another blow was the death of Edmund Seward.

J. On November 14, 1795, Southey, having abandoned the plan, sailed for Lisbon.

K. Southey's abandonment led to strained relations between him and Coleridge, who still cherished the idea until 1801.

II. Possible Influences Which Led to Pantisocracy. Page 10
One of the possible influences must have been the travel books published between 1790 and 1800. Such books are

A. 1782 LETTERS FROM AN AMERICAN FARMER by St. John de Crevecoeur

B. 1786 TRAVELS OF THE MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX

C. 1792 TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY OF NORTH AMERICA by Gilbert Imlay

D. 1794 TRAVELS by William Bartram

E. 1794 NEW TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES by Brissot de Warville

F. 1794 SOME INFORMATION RESPECTING AMERICA by Thomas Cooper

There is definite proof of the influence of some of these books.

A. Crèvecoeur's LETTERS
Hazlitt and Lamb were familiar with the AMERICAN FARMER.

B. Imlay's TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION
The American colony at Paris in 1792 must have known of Gilbert's travel book which was published at that time.

C. Bartram's TRAVELS
On March 28, 1796, Coleridge drew from the Bristol Library the ANTHOLOGICA HIBERNICA, which he kept until April 25. In the first volume (pp. 259-260) is an item on Crocodiles and their Nests, taken from Bartram's TRAVELS.

John L. Lowes proves, however, that Coleridge's knowledge of Bartram goes back still earlier to 1794, the date of the first drafts of Lewti.

D. Thomas Cooper's SOME INFORMATION.....
Cooper was the son-in-law of Dr. Priestley, who was adored by Lamb and admired by Coleridge. In a letter to Southey dated October 21, 1794, Coleridge mentions him. Cooper and Brissot knew each other. According to Maurice Kelley, Cooper's influence was purely commercial, and did not at all affect the social structure of Pantisocracy.

E. Brissot's TRAVELS
Haller, Biographer of Southey, mentions Brissot's TRAVELS among others which may have influenced Southey's ideas.

This paper shall concern itself principally with the possible influence of Crevecoeur's publications.

III. An Outline of the Life of Crevecoeur. Page 14

A. 1735 He was born in Caen.

B. 1756 He emigrated to Canada, and fought with Montcalm.

C. 1764 He became a citizen of New York.

D. 1769 He settled on a farm in Orange County.

1. He married Mehitable Tippet.

2. He wrote the LETTERS (1769-1774).

E. 1780 He embarked for France after having been imprisoned as a spy.

F. 1781 He sold the manuscript of the LETTERS in London for thirty guineas.

G. 1781-1782 He was in Paris where he translated the LETTERS into French, and published them (in 1784).

H. 1783 to 1789 He lived in France, and then in New York as consul.

I. 1790 He returned to France, and lived a retired life.

J. 1801 He published VOYAGE DANS LE HAUTE PENNSYLVANIA.

K. 1813 He died November 12.

IV. LETTERS FROM AN AMERICAN FARMER. Page 16

A. These letters give a picture of life in America just before the Revolution.

B. There are twelve letters in all.

1. Five are concerned with the Northern group of colonies.

2. Two treat of the middle group.

3. One has to do with the South.

4. Four are miscellaneous.

C. In 1784 and again in 1787 these letters were translated into French as LETTRES D'UN CULTIVATEUR AMERICAIN.

V. Later Publications of Letters which had been written by Crèvecoeur. Page 18

A. In 1923 Henri L. Bourdin discovered near Saneur two volumes of unpublished essays by Crevecoeur. These were evidently the complete literary work from which the earlier letters had been selected in 1781. Bourdin published them under the title SKETCHES OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AMERICA.

B. In 1925 there was published in the North American another letter entitled THE GROTTO.

C. In the YALE Review in 1925 was published a letter giving in detail Crèvecoeur's account of two trips which he had taken in 1774 and in 1776. The trips were along the Susquehanna river. An incomplete version based upon the same material, made by the author himself, was first published in Paris in the second edition of the LETTRES D'UN CULTIVATEUR AMERICAIN, volume III.

1. The following is a detailed resume of this letter.

2. Could it have been possible that this account of the trip down the Susquehanna, written in French and published in 1787, had been seen or known by Southey or Coleridge?

VI. Means of Transmitting Information of the LETTRES. Page 29

A. Information could have reached Southey and Coleridge by

1. reviews

2. friends who, sojourning in France, had read or heard of the book.

B. Since the LETTRES had a cordial reception in France, it is probable that there would have been many reviews quoted in the English magazines.

C. The more likely method would have been through friends.

Page 30

VII. The English Scene.

A. There was in London at this period a group of people who were in sympathy with the French Republicans. These dissenters used to meet at the office of Joseph Johnson, the publisher.

1. Thomas Paine was the leader of this group.

2. A second member was Dr. Priestley, who later emigrated to America.

3. Mary Wollstonecraft, a third member, later went to Paris, where she met Imlay and loved him. Later she married Godwin.

B. Many members of the group had more or less intimate relations with Southey or Coleridge.

Page 36

VIII. The French Scene - Paine and his Coterie.

A. In 1791 Thomas Paine sailed from England and established himself at No. 63 Faubourg St. Denis in Paris.

B. Thither came Mary Wollstonecraft, Imlay, and Brissots, and others.

C. Crevecoeur was also in Paris at this time and doubtless called at No. 63, since he was an intimate friend of Thomas Paine. If so, he met Imlay and Mary Wollstonecraft.

1. There is a close similarity between the publications of Crevecoeur and Imlay.

2. This resemblance would seem to argue that Imlay was familiar with Crèvecoeur's work.

3. Mary's correspondence seems to indicate that she was in communication with Crèvecoeur as early as 1794.

4. At least we know definitely that Mary, Imlay, and Crèvecoeur were friends by 1795.

5. Since Pantisocracy was given up by 1795 and Mary was not married to Godwin until 1796, any influence from that source must have affected only Coleridge. Mary Hayes, a mutual friend of Mary and Coleridge, may have received and passed on news of the book by Crèvecoeur.

IX. Wordsworth - a Possible Link. Page 43

A. Wordsworth was interested in travel accounts.

B. He was in France from November 1791 to February 1793.

1. There is little published information of this period in Wordsworth's life.

2. At Blois, Wordsworth probably attended meetings of a political club which was attached to Brissot and his faction.

3. His friendship with Michel A. Beupuy was another important influence.

4. Wordsworth stayed two days on his way to Blois; he stayed ten weeks on his return.

5. He may have met here Helen Maria Williams, wife of Stone, an English Revolutionist, who was associated with Priestley in England, and with Paine in Paris.

6. It seems hardly possible that Wordsworth with his strong Revolutionary sympathies could have been in Paris ten weeks without coming into intimate connections with the Paine group.

C. Wordsworth returned to England in 1793.

1. In London his relations with the Jacobins were close. He probably called often at the shop of Johnson who was publishing his Descriptive Sketches.

2. At Johnson's he would see Dr. Priestley, Godwin, and many others. Dr. Priestley was just on the point of sailing for America.

D. Wordsworth probably heard of Pantisocracy through Holcroft or Godwin in 1795.

E. The exact date when Wordsworth met Coleridge (and perhaps mentioned Crèvecoeur) has never been settled, though it was perhaps about September, 1795.

X. Summary: Four Main Reasons why Crevecoeur may have Influenced Coleridge and Southey. Page 52

A. Crevecoeur's whole philosophy of life was in tune with the Pantisocrats.

B. A large group of radicals in London were well known to Coleridge and Southey and must have exchanged gossip with them about travel books on America in which they were all interested. Crèvecoeur's books would certainly have been discussed.

C. Several members of the group must have met Crèvecoeur in Paris, or at least have read his book.

D. Either Wordsworth or Mary Wollstonecraft (perhaps through Godwin) could have passed on the news of Crèvecoeur to Coleridge and Southey.

THE INFLUENCE OF CREVECOEUR UPON THE PANTISOCRATIC SCHEME OF SOUTHEY AND COLERIDGE

I. Pantisocracy - its Birth and Death

As long as man retains a single trace of idealism, he will continue to dream of the perfect life, of a Utopian existence where selfishness and jealousy are unknown, burdens are equally shared, and real happiness is achieved. Because men do have such dreams, the pages of history are filled with the recital of plans for realizing the ideal life. The dreamers are always young men, usually poverty-striken, burned up with a sense of the injustice of existing conditions, and sure that they have at last found the formula for perfect happiness. The result is always the same: tragic failure.

Such a project was Pantisocracy, conceived in 1793 in the minds of two very young men: Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey. They were idealists, restless, dissatisfied with life as they had found it. "God help us the world wants mending," writes Southey to Grosvenor C. Bedford.

They had been watching with eager hope the progress of the French Revolution, and had pinned their young faith to the Girondists - especially to Brissot, who, like themselves, was a disciple of Rousseau. Then came the fall of the Girondists, the execution of Brissot, and disillusionment for the dreamers. "I am sick of the world," writes Southey, "and discontented with every one in it. The murder of

Brissot has completely harrowed up my faculties. I look around the world and everywhere I see the same spectacle, the strong tyrannizing over the weak."[1]

Yet though their eyes were turned from France, faith in democracy still persisted, and visions of an idyllic existence in America slowly captured their imaginations.

The correspondence of this period is illuminating. Coleridge writes impatiently to Southey:

> It is wrong, Southey! for a little girl with a half-famished sickly baby in her arms to put her head in at the window of an inn--"Pray give me a bit of your bread and meat!" from a party dining on lamb, green peas, and salad. Why? Because it is impertinent and obtrusive. "I am a gentleman! and wherefore should the clamorous voice of woe intrude upon my ear."[2]

In the same letter we find the first mention of the plan:

> When the pure system of Pantisocracy shall have aspheterized--from a and σφετερος (we really wanted such a word) instead of travelling along the circuitous dusty high-road of diction, you thus cut across the green pathless field of novelty. Farewell, sturdy Republican![3]

There were other inciting causes besides sympathy with Republican sentiments which influenced Coleridge and Southey. Southey had read Plotinus's plan for an ideal state. He had also been interested in Cowley's idea of retiring with his books to a cottage, as he informs us in

---

[1] Edward Dowden, Southey, p. 32. Macmillan, 1884.
[2] E. H. Coleridge, Letters of Coleridge. London, 1895. Gloucester, July 6, 1794.
[3] Ibid.

a letter to Horace Bedford:

> It was the favorite intention of Cowley to retire with books to a cottage in America, and seek that happiness which he could not find in society. My asylum there would be sought for different reasons; I should be pleased to reside in a country where men's abilities would ensure respect; where society was upon a proper footing; and man was considered more valuable than money; and where I could till the earth, and provide by honest industry the meat which my wife would dress with pleasing care.[1]

Later as plans crystallize, Southey writes again to Grosvenor Bedford:

> Now if you are in a mood for reverie, fancy only me in America; imagine my ground uncultivated since the creation and see me wielding the axe, now to cut down the tree, and now the snakes that nestled in it. Then see me grubbing up the roots and building a nice snug little dairy with them; three rooms in my cottage, and my only companion some poor negro whom I have brought on purpose to emancipate. After a hard day's toil see me sleep upon rushes, and in very bad weather take out my casette and write to you....Thus your friend will realize the romance of Cowley, and even outdo the seclusion of Rousseau, till at last comes an ill looking Indian with a tomahawk, and scalps me--- a most melancholy proof that society is very bad, and that I shall have done very little to improve it.[2]

In June, 1794, Coleridge met Southey at Oxford and the scheme was hatched. There were to be twelve men and twelve women, headed by Southey and Coleridge. Land was to be purchased with common labor, each having his portion of labor assigned to him. We smile to read their blithe prophecy that a large part of their time would still remain free

---

[1] Rev. Chas. C. Southey, Life and Correspondence of Southey. New York, 1851. Bristol, November 13, 1793.

[2] Ibid. New York, Harper, 1851. December 14, 1793.

In Letter to Mrs. Hoskins Bedford:

It was the favorite intention of Cowley to retire with books to a cottage in America, and seek that happiness which he could not find in society. My asylum there would be sought for different reasons; I should be pleased to reside in a country where man's abilities would endure respect; where society was upon a proper footing; and man was considered more valuable than money; and where I could till the earth, and provide by honest industry the meat which my wife would dress with pleasing care.

Later as plans crystallize, Southey writes again to Grosvenor Bedford:

Now if you are in a good mood for reverie, fancy only me in America; imagine my ground cultivated since the creation and you's wielding the axe, and to cut down the tree, and now the snakes that nestled in it. Then see my rumble up the roots and walking a nice snug little dairy with them; three rouge in my cottage, and my only companion some poor negro when I have brought on turbose to [illegible]. After a hard day's toil see me [illegible] and [illegible] whether take out my cassette and write to you.... Thus your friend will realize the romance of Cowley, and even outdo the seclusion of Rousseau, till at last comes an ill looking Indian with a tomahawk, and scalps me--- a most melancholy proof that society is very bad, and that I shall have done very little to improve it![1]

In June, 1794, Coleridge met Southey at Oxford and the scheme was hatched. There were to be twelve men and twelve women, headed by Southey and Coleridge. Land was to be purchased with common labor, each having his portion of labor assigned to him. We smile to read their blithe prophecy that a large part of their time would still remain free

---

1 Rev. Chas. C. Southey, Life and Correspondence of Southey, New York, Appl. Bristol, November 13, 1794.
2 Ibid. New York, Harper, 1881.
December 13, 1794.

for social intercourse and literary pursuits. The women were to cook and perform all domestic duties. Plans were even carried to such detail as the specification of the kind of architecture for their cottages.

The persons who were to emigrate were Coleridge; Southey; Robert Lovell, son of a wealthy Quaker; George Burnett, a fellow collegian from Somersetshire; Robert Allen, then at Corpus Christie; and Edmund Seward, also a fellow collegian of whom Southey was very fond.

In August Coleridge went up to London and wrote back to Southey:

> He (Dyer) was enraptured with our system. He is intimate with Dr. Priestley and I doubt not that the doctor will join us... Every night I meet a most intelligent young man who has spent the last five years of his life in America, and is lately come thence as an agent to sell land..... He says that 2000 pounds will do; that he doubts not that we can contract our passage under 400 pounds; that we shall buy the land a great deal cheaper when we arrive in America than we could in England; or why, he adds, am I sent over here? That twelve men can <u>easily</u> clear 300 acres in four or five months; and that for six dollars a thousand acres may be cleared, and houses built in them. He recommends the Susquehanna, from its excessive beauty and its security from hostile Indians. Every possible assistance will be given us...[1]

From London Coleridge goes back to Cambridge whence he writes in large letters, in all the zeal of Pantisocratic fraternity: SHAD GOES WITH US; SHAD IS MY BROTHER![2] (Shad

---

[1] Chas. C. Southey, <u>Coleridge's Letters</u>. August 6, 1794.
[2] Ibid, September 18, 1794.

was the servant of Southey's Aunt Tyler, of whom we shall hear more later.)

Southey, too, though less exuberant than Coleridge, is busy with plans. Naively he confides to his brother Tom:

> My aunt knows as yet nothing of my intended plans; it will surprise her, but not very agreeably. Should the publication (Joan of Arc) be in any way successful, it will carry me over, and get me some few acres, a spade and a plow. My mother says I am mad; if so, she is bit by me, for she wishes to go as much as I do. Coleridge was with us five weeks and made good use of his time. We preached Pantisocracy and Aspheterism everywhere. These, Tom, are new words, the first signifying the equal government of all, and the other, the generalization of individual property. Time lags until March.[1]

By the middle of the following month he is still enthusiastic:

> The Pantisocratic scheme has given me new hope, new energy; all the faculties of my mind are dilated; I am weeding out the few lurking habits of prejudice, and looking forward to happiness.[2]

Coleridge is even more ardent as he writes to the Reverend F. Wrangham:

> If there be any whom I deem worthy of remembrance--I am their brother. I call even my Cat Sister in the Fraternity of universal nature. Owls I respect and jackasses I love...But Kings, Wolves, Tygers, Generals, Ministers, Hyaenas, I renounce them all--or if they must be my kinsmen, it shall be in the 5th remove. May the almighty Pantisocratizer of Souls pantosocratize the Earth and bless you.[3]

---

[1] J. Dykes Campbell, Coleridge. London, 1894. September 20, 1794.
[2] John Dennis, Story of Southey's Life. October 20, 1794.
[3] Earle Leslie Griggs, Letters of Coleridge, vol. I, 1933. October 24, 1794.

was the servant of Southey's aunt Tyler, of whom we shall hear more later.)

Southey, too, though less exuberant than Coleridge, is busy with plans. Naively he confides to his brother Tom:

> My aunt knows as yet nothing of my intended plans; it will surprise her, but not very agreeably. Should the publication (Joan of Arc) be in any way successful, it will carry me over, and get me some few acres, a space and a plot. My mother says I am mad; if so, she is bit by me, for she wishes to go as much as I do. Coleridge was with us five weeks and made good use of his time. We preached Pantisocracy and Amphoterism everywhere. Those, Tom, are now words, the first signifying the equal government of all, and the other, the generalization of individual property. Time lags until March.[1]

By the middle of the following month he by still enthusiastic:

> The Pantisocratic buhoms use, even me now hope, new energy; all the [illegible] are [illegible]; I am wedding out the few lurking habits of prejudice, and looking forward to happiness.[2]

Coleridge is even more ardent as he writes to the Reverend F. Frangham:

> If there be any whom I deem worthy of remembrance--I am their brother. I call even my Cat Mister in the Fraternity of Universal nature. Owls I respect and jackasses I love...But Kings, Wolves, Tygers, Generals, Ministers, Nyasaas, I renounce them all--or if they must be my kinsmen, it shall be in the ethereal. May the almighty Pantisocratizer of Souls pantosocratize the Earth and bless you.[3]

---

1 F. Dykes Campbell, Coleridge. London, 1894. September 20, 1794.
2 John Dennis, Story of Southey's Life. October 20, 1794.
3 Earle Haslie Griggs, Letters of Coleridge, vol. 1, 1932. October 24, 1794.

But the clouds gather. Miss Tyler, the aunt, is acquainted with Southey's plans, and, in her anger, disowns him. At the same time the young enthusiast becomes aware of the impossibility of realizing his dreams without money. He suggests that Pantisocracy be tried in some part of Wales, but Coleridge objects:

> For God's sake, my dear fellow, tell me what we are to gain by taking a Welsh farm?...How much money will be necessary for furnishing so large a house? How much for the maintenance of so large a family-eighteen people-for a year at least.[1]

One cannot help feeling sad to read the letters of this period. These youths were so very young and so very helpless. Sureness of ultimate achievement changes to a dogged holding to an ideal. Southey writes:

> America is still the place to which our ultimate views tend, but it will be years before we can go. As for Wales, it is not practicable. If I and Coleridge can only get a fixed salary of 100 pounds a year between us, our own industry shall supply the rest.[2]

In spite of the note of defeatism in their correspondence, they still struggle on, ever cooking up new ways for making money:

> If Coleridge and I can get 50 pounds a year between us, we purpose marrying and retiring into the country, as our literary business can be carried on there and

---

[1] E. H. Coleridge, Coleridge's Letters. February 8, 1795.
[2] John Dennis, Story of Southey's Life. March 24, 1795.

practising agriculture till we can raise money for America - still the grand object in view.[1]

Gradually the more levelheaded Southey becomes lukewarm, but the flame of Coleridge's ardor burns as bright as ever. The first note of disagreement may be felt in a letter of 1794:

> I was vexed, too, and alarmed by your letter concerning Mr. and Mrs. Roberts, Shad, and little Sally. I was wrong, very wrong in the affair of Shad, and have given you reason to suppose that I should consent to the innovation. I will most assuredly go with you to America on this plan, but remember, Southey, this is not our plan, nor can I defend it. "Shad's children will be educated as ours, and the education we give them will be such as to render them incapable of blushing at the want of it in their parents." Perhaps! with this one word would every Lilliputian reasoner demolish the system. Wherever men can be vicious, some will be. The leading idea of pantisocracy is to make men necessarily virtuous by removing all motives to evil. "Let them dine with us and be treated with as much equality as they would wish, but perform that part of labor for which their education has fitted them." Southey should not have written this sentence--my friend should have said to his dependents: "Be my slaves, and ye shall be my equals! to his wife and sister, "Resign the name of Ladyship, and ye shall retain the thing."...If your remarks are just, the inference is that the scheme of pantisocracy is impracticable, but I hope and believe that is not a necessary inference.... Let the married women do only what is customary for pregnant women or nurses. Let the husband do all the rest, and what will that all be? Washing with a machine and cleaning the house. One hour's addition to our daily labor and pantisocracy in its most perfect sense is practicable...In the book of pantisocracy I hope to have comprised all that is good in Godwin of whose book I shall write more fully in my next letter. (I think not highly of him as you do, and I have not read him with the greatest attention.) What think you of the difference in the prices of land as stated by Cooper from those given by American agents?"[2]

---

[1] John Dennis, Story of Southey's Life. March 21, 1795.

[2] E. H. Coleridge, Coleridge's Letters. October 21, 1794.

practising agriculture till we can raise money for America - still the grand object in view.[1]

Gradually the more levelheaded Southey becomes lukewarm, but the flame of Coleridge's ardor burns as bright as over. The first note of disagreement may be felt in a letter of 1794:

"I was vexed, too, and alarmed by your letter concerning Mr. and Mrs. Roberts, Shad, and little Sally. I was wrong, very wrong in the affair of Shad, and have given you reason to suppose that I should consent to the innovation. I will most assuredly go with you to America on this plan, but remember, Southey, this is not our plan, nor can I defend it. "Shad's children will be educated as ours, and the education we give them will be such as to render them incapable of blushing at the want of it in their parents." Perhaps! with this one word would every Lilliputian reasoner demolish the system. Wherever men can be victims, some will be. The leading idea of pantisocracy is to make men necessarily virtuous by removing all motives to evil. "Let them dine with us and be treated with as much equality as they would wish, but perform that part of labor for which their education has fitted them." Southey should not have written this sentence--my friend should have said to his dependents: "Be my slaves, and ye shall be my equals! to his wife and sister, "Resign the name of Ladyship, and ye shall retain the thing."...If your remarks are just, the inference is that the scheme of pantisocracy is impracticable, but I hope and believe that is not a necessary inference.... Let the married women do only what is customary for pregnant women or nurses. Let the husband do all the rest, and what will that all be? Washing with a machine and cleaning the house. One hour's addition to our daily labor and pantisocracy in its most perfect sense is practicable...In the book of pantisocracy I hope to have comprised all that is good in Godwin of whose book I shall write more fully in my next letter." (I think not highly of him as you do, and I have not read him with the greatest attention.) What think you of the difference in the prices of land as stated by Cooper from those given by American agents?"[2]

---

1 John Dennis, Story of Southey's Life. March 21, 1795.

2 H. N. Coleridge, Coleridge's Letters. October 21, 1794.

Another blow falls upon the Pantisocrats in June, 1795, with the death of Edmund Seward. In October, Southey's uncle, Mr. Hill, urges Southey to accompany him to Lisbon;and Southey accepts, marrying Edith Fricker the day of his departure, November 14, 1795. Thus ends Southey's connection with Pantisocracy.

Coleridge's bitter disappointment and resentment are expressed in a letter written by him to Southey:

> You began to recede in your conversation from those broad principles in which Pantisocracy originated. I opposed you with vehemence... Remember when we went to Ashton on the strawberry party? Your conversation with George he detailed to me. It scorched my heart. Your private resources were to remain your individual property, and everything to be separate except a farm of five or six acres. In short, we were to commence partners in a petty farming trade. This was the mouse of which the mountain Pantisocracy was at last safely delivered....Oh, selfish, money loving man! What principle have you not given up! Oh, God! that <u>such a mind</u> should fall in love with that low dirty, gutter grubbing trull <u>Worldly Prudence</u>![1]

Not easily, nor at once does Coleridge, the idealist, relinquish his dream of Utopia. As late as 1800 we find him writing to Humphrey Davy:

> Davy! Davy! If the public Good did not iron and adamant you to England and Bristol what a little colony might we not make. Tobin, I am sure, would go, and Wordsworth, and I--and Southey. Precious stuff for dreams-and God knows I have no time for them.[2]

Again in 1801 he confides to Thomas Poole:

---

[1] E. H. Coleridge, <u>Coleridge's Letters</u>. November 13, 1795.
[2] E. Leslie Griggs, <u>Letters of S. T. Coleridge</u>. 1933. January 1, 1800.

> The annuity which I hold... will shortly become one half of what it was when first allowed me. If I were allowed to retain it, I would go settle near Priestley in America...I say I would go to America if Wordsworth would go with me, and we could persuade two or three of the farmers of this country to accompany us.[1]

Even with Southey the dream of an idyllic country life persisted for a while, and in 1796 he writes:

> I should be the happiest man in the world if I possessed enough to live with comfort in the country.[2]

And again a month later:

> With a little house in the country, and a bare independence how much more useful would I be, and how much more happy.[3]

How different is the picture of America which we get from Southey's letter written twenty-three years later:

> I have seen lately 3 young American travelers all singularly accomplished men, from New England; two of them, indeed, among the most accomplished men in fine literature whom it was ever my fortune to meet. But such men, who would do honor to Old England... are as rare in America as men of old Roman virtues are in the country wherein you are sojourning. Everything tends to make the Americans merely ephemeral in their thought and feelings. They have no classical learning, no ancestry, no antiquities.[4]

---

[1] E. Leslie Griggs, Letters of S. T. Coleridge. 1933. March 23, 1801.
[2] John Dennis, Southey. 1877. October, 1796.
[3] Ibid., November 21, 1796.
[4] Maurice Fitz Gerald, Letters of Robert Southey. 1912. May 7, 1819.

Such is a brief resume of Pantisocracy. Our task is to trace, if possible, the influences which led to the inception of the plan.

II. Possible Influences Which Led to Pantisocracy

Travel accounts published 1790-1800

One of the possible influences must have been the travel books published during the period which we have been discussing. Some of such books were

A. 1782 LETTERS FROM AN AMERICAN FARMER by St. John de Crèvecoeur

B. 1786 TRAVELS OF THE MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX

C. 1792 TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY OF NORTH AMERICA by Gilbert Imlay

D. 1794 TRAVELS by William Bartram

E. 1794 NEW TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES by Brissot de Warville

F. 1794 SOME INFORMATION RESPECTING AMERICA by Thomas Cooper

That some of these books were familiar to the Englishmen of that age we have definite proof. Hazlitt writes in the Edinburgh Review[1] at length and with appreciation of the LETTERS OF AN AMERICAN FARMER. Lamb, too, writing to Hazlitt admonishes him not to forget to send the AMERICAN FARMER[2]: "I dare say it isn't so good as you fancy; but a

---

[1] October, 1829. Vol. 10, p. 30.
[2] E. V. Lucas, however, explains American Farmer as referring to Gilbert Imlay's The Emigrants.

---

[1] October, 1829. Vol. 10, p. 90.

[2] V. Lange, Jorgen, [illegible] Letter to Heinrich Steffens in Gilbert's Ladby's [illegible].

book's a book."[1]

Lamb writes to Hazlitt on January 15, 1806. This is followed by an undated letter to Hazlitt, accompanied by Tingry's Painters and Varnisher's Guide. Hazlitt, who was then painting, seems to have wanted prints of trees, probably for a background. Lamb says that he has been hunting in shop windows for him. He adds: "To supply poetry and wildness, you may read THE AMERICAN FARMER over again."[2]

Gilbert Imlay's TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION was published (as noted above) in 1792, and must certainly have been known by the American colony in Paris of which he was a member at that time.

Of Bartram's TRAVELS we can assert that it was not only known, but was a direct influence on Coleridge. On March 28, 1796, Coleridge drew from the Bristol Library the ANTHOLOGIA HIBERNICA, which he kept until April 25.[3] In the first volume (pp. 259-260) is an item on Crocodiles and their nests, taken from Bartram's TRAVELS, lately published. It was from this item that Coleridge got his alligators which he painted in such captivating colors in the famous note book. Since, however, Pantisocracy had been definitely abandoned by Southey in 1795, this book,

---

1 E. V. Lucas, Lamb's Letters. 1913. November 10, 1805
2 Ibid., January 15, 1806.
3 Philological Magazine XXI, p. 319.

book's a book."[1]

Lamb writes to Hazlitt on January 15, 1806. This is followed by an undated letter to Hazlitt, accompanied by Tingry's Painters and Vanishers's Guide. Hazlitt, who was then painting, seems to have wanted prints of trees, probably for a background. Lamb says that he has been hunting in shar windows for him. He adds: "To supply poetry and wildness, you may read THE AMERICAN HUSSEIN over again."[2]

Wilbert Imlay's TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION was published (as noted above) in 1792, and must certainly have been known by the American colony in Paris of which he was a member at that time.

Of Bartram's TRAVELS we can assert that it was not only known, but was a direct influence on Coleridge. March 20, 1796, Coleridge drew from the Bristol library the ANTHOLOGIA HIBERNICA, which he kept until April 25. In the first volume (pp. 239-240) is an item on Crocodiles and their nests, taken from Bartram's TRAVELS, lately published. It was from this item that Coleridge got his alligators which he painted in such captivating colors in the famous note book. Since, however, Pantisocracy had been definitely abandoned by Southey in 1795, this book,

---

1 R. V. Lucas, Lamb's Letters. 1910.
November 16, 1806
2 Ibid., January 15, 1806.
3 Philological Magazine XCV, p. 319.

if it were not known earlier than 1795, could have had no influence on the initial project. John L. Lowes proves, however, that Coleridge's knowledge of Bartram goes back still earlier to 1794, the date of the first drafts of Lewti. He adds:

> There was every reason why he should read Bartram then...They were in the thick of the furore about Pantisocracy when Coleridge was intensely interested in America, and was eagerly reading books about it, and talking with people who knew it. And Bartram had been published in England two years before.[1]

SOME INFORMATION RESPECTING AMERICA was in the nature of a handbook rather than an artistic effort to present the attractions of the new land. Its author, Thomas Cooper, was the son-in-law of Dr. Priestly (known and admired by both Lamb and Coleridge). This Thomas Cooper was not a litterateur, but a land agent. That Cooper was in direct communication with Coleridge is proved by a letter already quoted in which he is referred to as"an intelligent young man who has come to England to sell land." (Vide page 3.) In the British Critic, January, 1795, appeared a review of Cooper's book:

> Messers Imlay and Cooper---two rival auctioneers. Pray, Ladies and Gentlemen, walk in and admire the wonders of Kentucky. Pray stop and see the incomparable beauties of the Susquehanna. Mr. Imlay, being agent for the disposal of landed property in Kentucky and Mr. Cooper, a large contractor for land in the Susquehanna.

---

[1] John L. Lowes, The Road to Xanadu, 1927, p. 513, note 76 and pp. 8 ff.

Maurice W. Kelley has recently[1] unearthed a rare contemporary pamphlet in the Bibliotheque Nationale. It is written in French and has for a title Plan de Vente. It outlines the details of Cooper's project for selling land, making four main divisions: (1) the suitability of Pennsylvania; (2) the plan of the sale of land; (3) advantages of this particular project in reference to organization of community and price of land; (4) instructions to emigrants concerning the voyage to America, the methods of farming and of procuring servants.

This material has been presented in such detail in order to emphasize the practical nature of Cooper's work. To quote Mr. Kelley:

> The promoters sought to sell land rather than to reform society and establish Utopia. Such a scheme, therefore, could hardly have influenced the Pantisocracy of Coleridge and Southey; and although SOME INFORMATION probably caused Coleridge to choose the Susquehanna as a site, and doubtless informed him of land prices in America, the actual project of Cooper and Priestley as expressed in the Plan de Vente seems to have had no influence on the social structure of Pantisocracy.[2]

Brissot's NEW TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES is mentioned by Haller, Southey's biographer, as one of several books which influenced Southey. Brissot and Cooper knew each other, for Brissot gave some unnamed person a letter introducing Le Capetaine de L'Etat de Kentucky as recommended by

---

[1] University of Maine Studies: "Additional Chapters on Thomas Cooper." 1930.
[2] Modern Language Notes, Vol. XLV, p. 218.

"Cooper de Manchester". This was Thomas Cooper.[1] We know, too, that Coleridge had been reading Brissot, for he quotes from the TRAVELLS in the Conciones[2] (Page 32).

Some of these possible influences have been carefully traced by Sister Eugenia in her PANTISOCRACY AND TRAVEL ACCOUNTS.[3] Sister Eugenia does not, however, consider Crevecoeur. It shall be the purpose of this paper to examine particularly the influence of Crevecoeur upon this plan called Pantisocracy, mentioning the others only as they may serve as connecting links.

III. Outline of the Life of Crevecoeur

It seems wise at this point to review briefly the salient happenings in the life of Crevecoeur (Hector was perhaps a prenom de fantaisie). He was born in Caen, January 31, 1735, and went to England when a youth of sixteen. At the age of twenty-three, he set out for the New World, joined Montcalm in New France, and fought with him in the attack upon Fort William Henry. After the defeat of the French at Quebec, he entered the British Colonies, going as far south as Pennsylvania. In 1764 he settled in Orange County, New York, at a farm called Pine Hill, where he practised agriculture on a large scale. On September 20, 1769, he married Mehitable Tippet of Yonkers; three

---

1 Modern Language Publication, vol. XLV, p. 1029.
2 Political Lectures to the People.
Reprinted in Essays on his own Times, 1850.
3 Modern Language Publication, vol. XLV, p. 1029.

"Cooper de Manchester". This was Thomas Cooper.[1] We know, too, that Coleridge had been reading Brismot, for he quotes from the TRAVELS in the Cenciones[2] (Page 32).

Some of these possible influences have been carefully traced by Sister Eugenia in her PANTISOCRACY AND TRAVEL ACCOUNTS.[3] Sister Eugenia does not, however, consider Crevecoeur. It shall be the purpose of this paper to examine particularly the influence of Crevecoeur upon this plan called Pantisocracy, mentioning the others only as they may serve as connecting links.

III. Outline of the Life of Crevecoeur

It seems wise at this point to review briefly the salient happenings in the life of Crevecoeur (Hector was perhaps a prenom de fantaisie). He was born in Caen, January 31, 1735, and went to England when a youth of sixteen. At the age of twenty-three, he set out for the New World, joined Montcalm in New France, and fought with him in the attack upon Fort William Henry. After the defeat of the French at Quebec, he entered the British Colonies, going as far south as Pennsylvania. In 1764 he settled in Orange County, New York, at a farm called Pine Hill, where he practised agriculture on a large scale. On September 20, 1769, he married Habitable Tippet of Yonkers; three

---

1 Modern Language Publication, vol. XIV, p. 1036.
2 Political Lectures to the People.
3 Reprinted in Nevers in his own Times, 1820.
4 Modern Language Publication, vol. XIV, p. 1037.

children were born: America-Frances, Guillaume-Alexandre, and Phillipe-Louis. Between 1769 and 1774 he probably wrote the LETTERS. After the outbreak of the Revolution, he started to return to France, was arrested as a spy, detained in prison, finally released, and in 1780 was allowed to embark with his son Louis. He stayed for a while in London, where he sold the manuscript of the LETTERS for thirty guineas. In France he led a gay society life, and became the favorite of Madame d'Houdetot, former mistress of Rousseau. Madame d'Houdetot secured for him the nomination as Consul General to the United States, and in the autumn of 1783 he took up his residence in New York. The latter part of June, 1785, he returned to France on furlough. During his two years' stay in France he was admitted to the Royal Agricultural Society at Paris, before whom he read a report on the American acacia--a report which was translated into German. In the second week in June, 1787, he returned to America and his consulate duties. In the spring of 1790 Crèvecoeur received permission to return to France on a leave of absence. His arrival in France was at a time of great excitement; his friend Brissot was high in favor, but Crèvecoeur, sensing the underlying uncertainty of governmental affairs, refrained from entering into public life, and lived in almost complete retirement. He spent five years at the Bavarian capital. Maximilian entertained him there and praised his book. In 1801 he published his three-volume VOYAGE DANS LE HAUTE

children were born: America-Frances, Guillaume-Alexandre, and Phillipe-Louis. Between 1769 and 1774 he probably wrote the LETTERS. After the outbreak of the Revolution, he started to return to France, was arrested as a spy, detained in prison, finally released, and in 1780 was allowed to embark with his son Louis. He stayed for a while in London, where he wrote the manuscript of the LETTERS for thirty guineas. In France he led a gay society life, and became the favorite of Madame d'Houdetot, former mistress of Rousseau. Madame d'Houdetot secured for him the nomination as Consul General to the United States, and in the autumn of 1782 he took up his residence in New York. The latter part of 1785, he returned to France and Carolina. During his two years' stay in France he was admitted to the Royal Agricultural Society at Paris, before whom he read a report on the American Bacon--a report which was translated into German. In the second week in June, 1787, he returned to America and his consulate duties. In the spring of 1790 Crèvecoeur received permission to return to France on a leave of absence. His arrival in France was at a time of great excitement; his friend Brissot was high in favor, but Crèvecoeur, sensing the underlying uncertainty of governmental affairs, refrained from entering into public life, and lived in almost complete retirement. He spent five years at the Bayonne hospital. Maximilian entertained him there and praised his book. In 1801 he published his three-volume VOYAGE DANS LE NAVIS

PENNSYLVANIE which, however, was not so successful as THE LETTERS. He died November 12, 1813.

We shall soon return to the period of his sojourn in Paris (1790-1795) for more detailed study. For the present let us glance at the contents of the LETTERS.

IV. Letters from an American Farmer

These letters give a picture, somewhat idyllic, of life in America in the period just prior to the Revolution. They are addressed to the Abbe Raynal, F.R.S., a supposititious friend of the writer. There are in all twelve letters. Five treat of the Northern group of colonies, of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Cape Cod. Two letters tell of the middle group, and are probably based upon his personal experiences on his farm in Pennsylvania. One letter is concerned with the South - Charlestown - and has for its thesis the slave-labor trade then so common in the South. The four other letters are filled with a variety of topics: natural history; John Bartram and his accomplishments; an attempt to define an American. Professor Moses C. Tyler calls attention to the two notes of these letters: one of great peace, and one of great pain.

These letters published in 1782 appear to have met with great success in England; so much so that Crèvecoeur's friends, especially Madame de Houdetot, urged him to publish the book in France. Since it would be necessary for Crèvecoeur to translate the entire volume into French, he

PENNSYLVANIA-which, however, was not so successful as THE LETTERS. He died November 18, 1813.

We shall soon return to the period of his sojourn in Paris (1780-1784) for more detailed study. For the present let us glance at the contents of the LETTERS.

IV. Letters from an American Farmer

These letters give a picture, somewhat idyllic, of life in America in the period just prior to the Revolution. They are addressed to the Abbe Raynal, F.M.G., a suppositious friend of the writer. There are in all twelve letters. Five treat of the Northern group of colonies, of Martin's Hundred, Nantucket, and Charleston. Two letters tell of the middle group, and are probably based upon his personal experiences while from in Pennsylvania. One letter is concerned with the South - Charlestown - and has for its theme the slave-labor drama then so common in the South. The four other letters are filled with a variety of topics: natural history; John Bartram and his accomplishments; an attempt to define an American. Petersen Cooper C. Tyler calls attention to the two notes of these letters: one of great peace, and one of great pain.

These letters published in 1782 appear to have met with great success in England; so much so that Crevecoeur's friends, especially Madame de Houdetot, urged him to publish the book in France. Since it would be necessary for Crevecoeur to translate the entire volume into French, he

naturally hesitated, feeling uncertain of the use of his native tongue. Nevertheless, he finally decided to make the attempt, and probably spent most of 1782 on the task. The next January a passage from the text was inserted in the Mercure de France with a brief mention of the book. Almost immediately after this announcement had appeared, the manuscript was stolen. Again Crèvecoeur set to work and re-translated the entire volume. This new copy was sent to M. de Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs. Though the minister had promised to return the book within a week, three weeks passed with no word from him. Crèvecoeur, at last, in great anxiety, wrote to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld to get his book for him. At length the license was obtained, and Crèvecoeur wrote that he hoped by January of the next year to receive the first copies. "God knows", he says, "what the public will think of a work so full of errors of grammar, and of diction, the greatests ornaments of a book."

In spite of the minister's sanction certain difficulties arose: the book was called too daring and also too long. Crèvecoeur replied that he was not willing to cut the text very much; and that if its publication was forbidden in France, he would re-translate it and bring it out in Philadelphia. An agreement was finally reached, and in the course of the year 1784 the book finally appeared under the title LETTRES D'UN CULTIVATEUR AMERICAIN. In 1787 a new edition was called for to which Crèvecoeur added a third

volume. Later, in 1788 and 1789, these letters were translated into German as BRIEFE EINES AMERIKANISCHER LANDMANNS.[1]

Grimm says of the book:

> This book, written without method and without art, but with a high degree of interest and sensibility perfectly fulfils the object that the author seems to have proposed: that of making America loved. There are to be found in it minute details, very common truths, repetitions and lengthy passages; but it attracts by its simple and true picture.[2]

V. Later Publication of Crèvecoeur

A. We are, however, not so much concerned with these letters published in 1782, as in a later discovery. In 1923, Henri L. Bourdin, while engaged in the study of the Marquis de Chastellux, found, in the country seat of Comte de Crèvecoeur, near Saneur, two volumes of unpublished essays by Crèvecoeur, which had lain for nearly a century and a half in the cabinets of the Crèvecoeur family. Careful examination of these volumes convinced M. Bourdin that they were the complete literary work of the AMERICAN FARMER from which the English publisher had chosen the essays which he published in 1782. The first contained practically all the letters published in 1782; the second and third volumes had 252 and 165 pages of text respectively which had never been published in the original English text. In the second volume was the letter on Crèvecoeur's two trips down the

---

[1] Julia Mitchell, Life of Crevecoeur, pp. 75 ff.
[2] Correspondence of Grimm, ed. Tourneaux. Vol. XIV, 88.

Susquehanna - which letter is the main concern of this paper.

The spelling was grotesque; there were many archaic words and errors in punctuation; the grammar was awkward - sometimes hopelessly bad. In an effort to make the manuscript readable, these errors have been corrected by the editors.

These essays (edited by Bourdin, Gabriel, and Williams) were published in 1925 under the title SKETCHES OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AMERICA.[1] There is space for only brief comment on some of them.

"The Snowstorm" reveals Crevecoeur's keenness of perception as well as his descriptive skill, "The Hill Town" shows his knowledge of natural history. He writes: "Strange that you should have in England so many learned and wise men, and that none should ever have come over here to describe some parts of this great field which nature presents."

"Manners of the Americans" proves that he has no illusions about Americans: he is appreciative, but at the same time critical. "Enemies of the Farmer" is an answer to those who claim that he painted a completely idyllic picture of the New World. "Customs and Implements" is valuable since it gives information of the actual, every day life of a certain small section of the country. The last seven sketches are war pieces, and reveal the strong Loyalist

---

[1] New York, Yale University Press, 1925.

sympathies of the writer. It is interesting to speculate why the letters which showed sympathy with the cause of the Loyalists should have been suppressed in 1782, by his English publisher. It may be that this publisher was a cautious person, and selected only those papers which would appeal to that group of people who disapproved of the war waged by George III. Possibly Crèvecoeur's treatment in New York by the Loyalists had shaken his sympathies, and caused him to oppose the publication of Loyalist papers.

The whole question of what passed between Crèvecoeur and his publisher in May, 1781, and why only one-third of his letters were finally chosen for publication has been a matter of lively interest to students of American Literature. Various explanations have been offered, the most logical of which seems to be that the publisher was over prudent and wished to "sound" his public with a "Sample" before too extensive publication.

B. In 1925 there was published in the North American another letter entitled THE GROTTO, which also showed Loyalist leanings.

C. But the most interesting and significant of this sheaf of 1925 publications was a third letter printed in the Yale Review. This letter gives an account of two trips which Crèvecoeur took down the Susquehanna in 1774 and in 1776. But the question might well be asked, "What possible influence could a 1925 publication have upon Pantisocracy of 1795?" Certainly none, were it not for one interesting fact:

An incomplete French version, based upon the same material and made by the author himself, was first published in Paris in the second edition of the LETTRES D'UN CULTIVATEUR AMERICAIN, Vol. III.

Since this paper is concerned almost wholly with this French translation or rather adaptation, it is well to consider the difference in style between the original American letters and the later French ones. Just as the author has changed from an American farmer to a man of Parisian society, so do the letters change from simplicity and naïvete to sentimentality and rhetoric. Such ornateness is very evident in the letter entitled CREVECOEUR ON THE SUSQUEHANNA, a summary of which is here presented. The reader is asked to observe three things: (1) The author's artistic appreciation of the beauties of the country; (2) His social idealism contrasted with Cooper's practicality; (3) The emotional quality which would be sure to appeal to inflammable youths like Coleridge and Southey.

"When an European arrives in this country, he is amazed at the extent and neatness of our towns, the various improvements, and the many settlements that adorn our shores. He cannot believe that he is in a country only 150 years old. He sees farms tilled with as much care as those of his native land. Along the seashore and in the neighborhood of cities, the soil, enriched by the mud of rivers, with salt grasses everywhere, is very fertile. In the Northern peninsula, however, this is not so, for the rich coat of

An incomplete French version, based upon the same material and made by the author himself, was first published in Paris in the second edition of the LETTERS FROM CULTIVATED AMERICA, Vol. III.

Since this paper is concerned almost wholly with this French translation or rather adaptation, it is well to consider the difference in style between the original American letters and the later French ones. Just as the author has changed from an American farmer to a man of Parisian society, so do the letters change from simplicity and naïveté to sentimentality and rhetoric. Such ornateness is very evident in the letter entitled CHEVALIER CIN THE BUSTOMBARRA, a summary of which is here presented. The reader is asked to observe three things: (1) The author's artistic appreciation of the beauties of the country; (2) His social idealism contrasted with Cooper's practicality; (3) The emotional quality which would be sure to appeal to inflammable youths like Coleridge and Southey.

"Even an European arrives in this country, he is amazed at the extent and neatness of our towns, the various improvements, and the many settlements that adorn our shores. He cannot believe that he is in a country only 150 years old. He sees farms tilled with as much care as those of his native land. Along the seashore and in the neighborhood of cities, the soil, enriched by the mud of rivers, with salt grasses everywhere, is very fertile. In the Northern peninsula, however, this is not so, for the rich boat of

decayed old leaves, preserved for ages by timber and its shade, is long since exhausted and gone. This it was which enriched the first settlers. .....

" In order to obtain more uniformly fertile soil, deeper loams, and inexhaustible farms, you must recede from the sea, visit the shores of the Kennebec up to its falls, those of the Connecticut, and Mohawk, and the Susquehanna. Bountiful Nature seems to have given this soil a degree of fertility proportional to its distance from navigable rivers, in order that men, though so far removed from river markets might be able to afford the expense of transportation. The history of the New England settlements on the East branch of the Susquehanna is a most convincing proof of what I have advanced as the following details will demonstrate:

" The long dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania concerning the property of the lands on both branches of the river Susquehanna might perhaps be uninteresting to you. I shall try to give a geographical account of the country, a description of its soil, a general idea of this noble river through so vast a region.

" If on the map you follow the river Susquehanna, you will soon come to the great forks which divide it into two branches. One of these branches is called the East one; the other is known as the West. About forty miles up the East from Shamoctin begins the claim of the New England people which they carry upward of ninety miles to the bounds

of Wissack and Wiolucing (Wyalusing) in the 42 degree latetude. Connecticut makes the claim by the words of her charter which grants her a continuation of territory to the South Sea. About 20 years ago, some of their missionaries went to preach the gospel among the tribes which inherited those beautiful shores. Feeling confined at home, and desiring aggrandizement, some people in Connecticut, by means of the missionaries, set about buying land from the natives, a tract more than ninety miles long on the East branch. This was done without countenance of the government, and greatly alarmed the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, who looked upon the act as a breach of law. Several families at last went to begin the famous settlement. Some crossed the Menisink (Menesink) Mountains, passed the Delaware, and entered Pennsylvania in a N.N.W. course. Others went up the Delaware to its forks, followed its West branch twelve miles, then by land to Anquaga on the Susquehanna and thence to Wyoming.

" The difficulties encountered were immense: temporary bridges to build, roads to explore for the passage of wagons, women and children to transport, provisions to carry, cattle, sheep, horses to lead through the wilderness; when arrived, houses to erect, grain to plant, and provision to secure by the chase or fishing.

" In my first excursion thither, I followed exactly the path which these people had made. This I mean to describe, reserving the account of the second route when I return.

of Wissack and Nicluoing (Wyalusing) in the 42 degree latitude. Connecticut makes the claim by the words of her charter which grants her a continuation of territory to the South Sea. About 20 years ago some of their missionaries went to preach the gospel among the tribes which inhabited those beautiful shores. Feeling confined at home, and desiring aggrandisement, some people in Connecticut, by means of the missionaries, get about buying land from the natives, extract more than ninety miles long on the East branch. This was done without countenance of the government, and greatly alarmed the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, the record from the [illegible] of law. Several families at last went to begin the famous settlement. Some crossed the Lenisink (Lenesing) Mountains, passed the Delaware, and [illegible] in a N.S.W. course. Others went up the Delaware to its forks, followed its West branch twelve miles, then by land to Anquaga on the Susquehanna and thence to Wyoming.

"The difficulties encountered were immense: temporary bridges to build, roads to explore for the passage of wagons, women and children to transport, provisions to carry, cattle, sheep, horses to lead through the wilderness; when arrived, houses to erect, grain to plant, and provision to secure by the chase or fishing.

"In my first excursion thither, I followed exactly the path which these people had made. This I mean to describe, reserving the account of the second route when I return.

" Crossing the Menesink mountain, you descend at a point where the Mahacemack empties itself into the Delaware, and the point of its confluence is the end of the dividing line between New York and New Jersey. On the shores of both are most excellent farms and houses; but these are soon terminated by mountains through which runs the Delaware.

" Three miles below I crossed the Delaware (one-half mile wide) and in the space of two miles, I entered the great wilderness. It is an immense piny forest of hemlock and spruce. The soil, a compound of red sand and loam, might with good husbandry, bear excellent wheat.

" After having traveled about twenty-seven miles, I met a little settlement of three houses on Shoholy (Shohola) creek, in the west side of a considerable ridge. There was room here for only three families. Here, under the hospitable roof, I rested for the night. They had a considerable orchard, hearty cattle, many hogs. These people seemed very happy. They were all skilful hunters; the few acres which they cultivated were extremely fertile, and produced them with little labor 32 bushels wheat, 55 bushels of corn per acre; they also abounded in flax. They seemed to want for nothing and were happy.

" The next day I visited Blooming Grove, situated on a creek which runs into the Wallenpaupack river. This was a settlement composed of a single family - the husband, wife, and six children. They seemed to have no wants; the father read prayers every night and on Sundays.

" The next day I met the great swamp of which I had heard so much. It is one of the largest in the Northern Provinces and lies between the great ridges near the Delaware river and those which follow the Susquehanna. It is twelve miles across and reaches down into Pennsylvania. It contains six thousand acres of land; few ridges cross it.

" When the population of this country will be able to clear this immense tract, what a magnificent sight will it afford. The soil is as good as the Northern meadows, bearing maple, white and black ash, willow, alder etc. What immense richness this great spot contains!

(Finally he reaches the bank of the Susquehanna at Wiomen - 32 miles.)

" Few rivers in this part of the world exhibit so great a display of the richest and fertilest land that man can desire. The eye sees level plains, then rocky points covered with finest pines affording springs of most excellent waters, producing brooks where mills are erected to turn grain into meal, and neighboring logs into boards. The plains between the cliffs are some thousand acres. Others are 250, and are formed to sand and loam in about equal quantities. Where the springs begin to rise, the soil changes from sandy loam to a stronger ground which produces in abundance all sorts of grain fit for the use of man. There is the wild cherry and sweet butter nut, and button wood so huge that I saw a canoe excavated from one.

" Near the river is another tier of low lands which is

covered every spring with the annual flood which raises the Susquehanna to ten feet. Nothing can be conceived more fruitful and more pleasant than these inferior lands. They contain the strongest vegetative powers which nature can give; they are separated from the upper ones by natural ditches, by winding canals, which often make them perfect islands. These are the fields where they sow and cultivate the spring grains: corn, oats, flax, pease, barley, etc. They are yearly enriched by strong healthy slime deposited by floods.

" The ground has to be "tamed" by being planted first with hemp seed so that the rank weed can exhaust some of the too great fertility of the soil. I have seen 78 bushels of corn gathered out of an acre; 97 bushels of wheat from one and one-half bushel sowing, 1370 pounds of clean hemp out of one and one-half acres.

" This fine river contains likewise a great number of islands the fertility and richness of whose soil nothing can exceed.

" The high grounds yield all kinds of oak, tulip trees, chestnut, hickory, Kecke Toma. In the woods are plenty of wild grapes, strawberries, wild raspberries, filberts etc.

" This river is at a medium between seventy and eighty rods wide, interspersed at every little distance with pleasing islands. Spring and fall the river is navigable for boats of twelve tons, managed with seven hands, six with poles and one at the helm. Their general market at present

covered every spring with the annual flood which raises the Susquehanna to ten feet. Nothing can be conceived more fruitful and more pleasant than these inferior lands. They contain the strongest vegetative powers which nature can give; they are separated from the upper ones by natural ditches, by winding canals, which often make them perfect islands. These are the fields where they saw and cultivate the spring grains: corn, oats, flax, peas, barley, etc. They are yearly enriched by strong healthy slime deposited by floods.

"The ground has to be "tamed" by being planted first with hemp seed so that the rank weed can exhaust some of the too great fertility of the soil. I have seen 70 bushels of corn gathered out of an acre; 40 bushels of wheat from [illegible] one-half bushel sowing, 1570 pounds of [illegible] out of one and one-half acres.

"This fine river contains likewise a great number of islands the fertility and richness of whose soil nothing can exceed.

"Do high grounds yield all kinds of oak, tulip tree, chestnut, hickory, Noche Tome. In the woods are plenty of wild grapes, strawberries, wild raspberries, filberts etc.

"This river is at a medium between seventy and eighty rods wide, interspersed at every little distance with pleasing islands. Spring and fall the river is navigable for boats of twelve tons, managed with seven hands, six with poles and one at the helm. Their general market at present

is at Pennsylvania where they carry abundance of white pine boards, logs of white cherry and walnut, wheat and hemp.

" I have seen trout as large as bass, seventeen inches long, a little below the falls of Wiomen.

" It was not until the fourth year that I visited them. Their mode of living and behaving towards one another when they had no government greatly surprised me. .....There was not a single person idle; those who were fatigued with labor recreated themselves by fishing. Most were poor people who had little property left besides the bare means of transporting themselves there with their stock. They had already erected a good number of saw mills for board and scantling and had already begun to float them down the river in rafts, on top of which they placed many black walnut logs 14x18 which they sold for one dollar apiece. Even sea coal is found here all along the banks within a few feet of the surface.

" Here are united all the advantages which make men happy and rich. There is a climate peculiarly healthy, excellent spring water, the most fertile lands in the world; on their high ground every species of timber, wild turkey, in great flocks, deer, moose, bears, fish in their river all the year around, the best of white pine, sea coals, a debouche by water to exchange their exuberancy for what they want. What a pity they cannot be permanently settled and be made to unite the advantage of peace and

is at Pennsylvania where they carry abundance of white pine boards, loss of white cherry and walnut, wheat and hemp.

" I have seen trout as large as bass, seventeen inches long, a little below the falls of Niomen.

" It was not until the fourth year that I visited them. Their mode of living and behaving towards one another when they had no government greatly surprised me. .....There was not a single person idle; those who were fatigued with labor recreated themselves by fishing. Most were poor people who had little property left besides the bare moves of transporting themselves there with their stock. They had already erected a good number of saw mills for board and scantling and had already begun to float them down the river in rafts, and for which they placed many black walnut logs lexis which they sold for one dollar apiece. Even sea coal in found here all along the banks within a few feet of the surface.

" Here are united all the advantages which make men happy and rich. There is a climate sensibly healthy, excellent spring water, the most fertile lands in the world; on their high ground every species of timber, wild turkey, in great flocks, deer, moose, beare, fish in their river all the year around, the best of white pine, red cedar, a sebouche by water to exchange their exuberancy for what they want. That a pity they cannot be permanently settled and be made to unite the advantage of peace and

political tranquility with every other which Nature offers with liberal hand. Here a man to live well is not obliged to work one-half his time. It is here that human nature, undebased by servile tenures, a multiplicity of unrelieved wants as it is in Europe, reacquires its former and ancient dignity - now lost all over the world except with us. The ignorance in which we unhappily are of that accursed feudal system which ruins everything in Europe promises us a new set of prejudices and manners."

Two years later, (in 1776) Crevecoeur revisits the same, going by the way of the Delaware and the Anquaga. He gives an interesting account of Anquaga, an Indian town inhabited by the Seneccas. Here he sees several white people who have come thither to be doctored by the Indians. One recipe for a running ulcer he secures by making all the principal squaws drunk. He utters the pious wish that the good he has done with it will compensate for the method he used to procure it. He sees everywhere marks of growing wealth and population. And again he rhapsodizes over the country: "Were I a farmer, here with pleasure would I pitch my tent, for Nature in her most indulgent hours could not form a richer assemblage of all that man wants; here have I seen her dissolving into the kindest volupty."[1]

---

[1] Yale Review, 1923. Vol. 14, pp. 552 ff.
It seemed necessary to present this essay in detail that we may appreciate its possible effect upon readers.

Such is the rosy picture of life in America as presented by Crevecoeur in 1787. No one could doubt that Southey and Coleridge, if they happened to read this letter, would be strongly influenced by it to establish their Pantisocratic settlement on the banks of the Susquehanna. The thesis of this paper, then, is as follows:

Could it have been possible that this account of the trip down the Susquehanna, written in French and published in 1787, had been seen or known by Southey or Coleridge.

VI. Means of Transmitting Information of the Book

We must remember, however, that this book was written in French and published in Paris. Since neither Southey nor Coleridge was in France during this period, any information concerning this publication must have come to them through reviews or through friends who, so journing in France, had read or heard of the book.

LETTRES D'UN CULTIVATEUR AMERICAIN was evidently given a cordial reception in Paris, for Madame d'Houdetot writes to Crevecoeur's son:

> Le livre de votre bon papa est en vente et a le plus grand succes et plus flatteur...[1]

Indeed so large was its sale that a new edition was called for.

---

[1] Robert Crevecoeur, Vie et ses Ouvrages, p. 353. Paris, 1883.

Such is the rosy picture of life in America as presented by Crevecoeur in 1787. No one could doubt that Southey and Coleridge, if they happened to read this letter, would be strongly influenced by it to establish their Pantisocratic settlement on the banks of the Susquehanna. The thesis of this paper, then, is as follows:

Could it have been possible that this account of the trip down the Susquehanna, written in French and published in 1787, had been seen or known by Southey or Coleridge.

VI. Means of Transmitting Information of the Book

We must remember, however, that this book was written in French and published in Paris. Since neither Southey nor Coleridge was in France during this period, any information concerning this publication must have come to them through reviews or through friends who, so journing in France, had read or heard of the book.

LETTRES D'UN CULTIVATEUR AMERICAIN was evidently given a cordial reception in Paris, for Madame d'Houdetot writes to Crevecoeur's son:

Le livre de votre bon papa est en vente et a le plus grand succes et plus flatteur...[1]

Indeed so large was its sale that a new edition was called for.

---

[1] Robert Crevecoeur, Vie et ses Ouvrages, p. 553. Paris, 1883.

> Le succès de ce livre avait été si grand, si durable, qu'une re-impression était devenue nécessaire.[1]

To this second edition Crèvecoeur added a third volume with maps and engravings. It seems probable that a book so popular must have received many reviews which doubtless would be quoted in English magazines.

The second means of transmission would have been through friends of the Pantisocrats. At this point we must pause to trace many and complicated relationships among literary men of the time, hoping that we may find some of these tangled threads leading to a connection between Crèvecoeur and Pantisocracy.

VII. The English Scene

A. If we can think of the French Revolution as the controlling influence, or pivotal point, in our discussion, we shall find a large number of interesting people in England at this time (1785-1795) who were dissatisfied with life, ardently sympathizing with the French Republicans, and naturally gravitating into groups for exchange of ideas. Such a group was that which used to gather at the office of Mr. Joseph Johnson, the most noted publisher of his day. We remember him not so much as the publisher of Cowper, the Edgeworths, Mrs. Barbauld, and Fuseli, as the staunch friend of Mary Wollstonecraft, her advisor as well as her employer.

---

[1] Robert Crevecoeur, Vie et ses Ouvrages, p. 119. Paris, 1883.

Johnson's home, too, was one of the gayest and most fashionable in London. Hither came Fuseli, impetuous and loquacious; Godwin, considered a very great man because of his Political Justice; Mary Wollstonecraft, sparkling and keen; Holcroft, Bonnycastle, Dr. Priestley, Thomas Cooper, and others. Whole books have been written about many of these persons; we shall content ourselves with mention of them only as their lives directly or indirectly touch those of Crèvecoeur or the Pantisocrats.

1. In this group probably Thomas Paine was looked up to as the greatest apostle of liberty in the world. He had come to England in 1787, had written to Jefferson of his intimacy with Burke, whom he idealized, and had expressed his approval of affairs in France. Then came the publication of Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France; and Paine mourned a lost leader. But not in silence! for he at once set to work on his answer - The Rights of Man. Though the book was burned by the public hangman, and many of those concerned in its publication were tried for high treason, the student of political history today will find in it the living constitution of Great Britain. Of the author during this period his biographer has given us a not unpleasant picture:

> Mr. Paine's life in London was a quiet round of philosophical leisure and enjoyment. It was occupied in writing...in walking...to visit different friends, occasionally lounging at coffe-houses and public places, or being visited by a select few. His eyes were full, brilliant, and singularly piercing; they held in them the "muse of fire"...His manners were easy and gracious; his knowledge was universal and boundless; in private company and among

his friends, his conversation had every fascination that anecdote, novelty, and truth could give. In mixt company and among strangers he said little, and was no public speaker.[1]

An amusing incident which illustrates Paine's reserve when among strangers is told by Madeline Linford in her life of Mary Wollstonecraft. It was just after the public burning of Paine's book that Godwin went to the house of Johnson, hoping to meet and talk with Paine. Instead he met and talked with Mary Wollstonecraft. He says:

> The interview was not fortunate. Mary and myself parted mutually displeased with each other. I had little curiosity to see Mrs. Wollstonecraft and a very great curiosity to see Thomas Paine. Paine in his general habits is no great talker; and though he threw in occasionally some shrewd and striking remarks, the conversation lay principally between me and Mary. I, of consequence, heard her very frequently when I wished to hear Paine.[2]

The scene lives again before our eyes; Mary, flushed, over excited, and loquacious; shy Tom Paine, crushed into silence; Godwin, angry and argumentative. We shall hear more of Tom Paine in Paris where he again becomes the leader of a radical group and has intimate connections with Crevecoeur.

2. A second member of the London who was closely affiliated with Paine in political sympathy was Dr. Priestley. Now-a-days we think of him as a chemist persecuted in this

---

[1] Moncure D. Conway, Life of Paine, p. 321 ff. G. P. Putnam, 1909.
[2] Madeline Linford, Mary Wollstonecraft, p. 158 ff. 1924.

country by William Corbett under the pseudonym Peter Porcupine. We should remember that chemistry was simply his avocation. He was a theologian by education and training; he was also a persistently disputatious dissenter. Though he was a chemist, he had remained a Christian; a fact which the Englishman found it difficult to understand. He was, too, a democrat in politics at a time when such a belief was unpopular. He talked, wrote pamphlets and books, and delivered sermons, thereby arousing opposition in church and state. Though he did not approve of violence nor of unrestrained personal liberty, he did believe in free speech both in politics and religion. He had been elected a citizen of the French Republic, and was outspoken in its favor. On July 14, 1791, the second anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was celebrated by a dinner in London. Though Priestley did not attend the dinner, his name was associated with the event because of his well-known sympathies. His church in Birmingham was pillaged and burnt; his house with many valuable manuscripts was ruined, and he and his wife barely escaped with their lives. Again and again during the next few years he was burned in effigy. It became unsafe to profess friendship for, or admiration of him; landlords refused to rent him a house; servants refused to work for him; even some members of the Royal Society, once his loyal friends, shunned him. His position became so dangerous that he left England and joined his sons in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, sailing for

America on April 8, 1794. During the two years just preceding this departure, he had been living in London, where he was a most influential member of the radical group. We may be sure that the London group followed with much interest his departure and subsequent life in America. The Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1795, contained the following notice, which must have been read with attention by his well wishers: "There is a colony established not far from the Susquehanna River, in America, by a class of wealthy Frenchmen, who formerly distinguished themselves in the Constituent Assembly of France, but were prudent enough to retire in time with their families and property...they have relinquished their titles, and have domesticated here in the most social manner."

The point to be kept in mind here is that Coleridge was a profound admirer of Priestly whom he calls "Patriot, and Saint, and Sage." Possibly the fact that they were both Unitarians may have strengthened the bond between them. The Morning Chronicle for December 11, 1794, contained a sonnet to Priestley, written by Coleridge.[1]

---

[1] "Though king-bred rage with lawless Tumult rude
Have driven our Priestley o'er the ocean swell;
Though Superstition and her wolfish brood
Bay his mild radiance, impotent and fell;
Calm in his halls of brightness he shall dwell!
For lo! Religion at his strong behest
Disdainful rouses from the Papal spell,
And flings to earth her tinsel-glittering vest,
Her mitred state and cumbrous pomp unholy;
And Justice wakes to bid th'oppression wail
That ground th'ensnared soul of patient Folly;
And from her dark retreat by Wisdom won,
Meek Nature slowly lifts her matron veil,
To smile with fondness on her growing son."

Lamb, too, was an admirer of Priestley, whom he had probably seen at the Gravel Pit Chapel where Priestley was preacher from 1791 to 1794. On May 24, 1796, he writes to Coleridge:

> Coleridge in reading your Religious Musings I felt a transient superiority over you: I have seen Priestley. I love and honour him almost profanely. You would be charmed with his sermons if you ne'er read them.[1]

Southey also had come under the influence of Priestley, for he writes to Coleridge on January 20, 1797:

> I have lived much among the friends of Priestley and learned from them many peculiar opinions of the man, who speaks all he thinks.[2]

Priestley is brought into this discussion because his persecution and subsequent departure for America would inevitably have suggested America as a topic of conversation to Priestley's friends among whom were Southey and Coleridge. Even if he had not read the later 1787 letter, Priestley must have been familiar with the earlier AMERICAN FARMER.

3. Probably the most important link in this chain of associated influences would be Mary Wollstonecraft. At Michaelmas, 1788, she had come to London and had entered the employ of Johnson, as his reader and translator. She remained there until December, 1792, when she went to France,

---

[1] E. V. Lucas, Letters of Lamb.
[2] E. H. Coleridge, Letters of Coleridge.

Lamb, too, was an admirer of Priestley, whom he had probably seen at the Gravel Pit Chapel where Priestley was preacher from 1781 to 1794. On May 24, 1795, he writes to Coleridge:

> Coleridge is reading your Religious Musings I felt a transient superiority over you: I have seen Priestley. I love and honour him almost profoundly. You would be charmed with his sermons if you hadn't read them.[1]

Southey also had come under the influence of Priestley, for he writes to Coleridge on January [illegible], 1797:

> I have lived much among the friends of Priestley and learned from them many peculiar opinions of the man, who speaks all he thinks.[2]

Priestley is [illegible] into this discussion because his persecution and subsequent departure for America would inevitably have [illegible] America as a topic of conversation to Priestley's friends among whom were Southey and Coleridge. Even if he had not read the later 1797 letter, Priestley must have been familiar with the earlier [illegible].

3. Probably the most important link in this chain of associated influences would be Mary Wollstonecraft. At Michaelmas, 1792, she had come to London and had entered the employ of Johnson, as his reader and translator. She remained there until December, 1792, when she went to France.

---

1. [illegible], Letters of Lamb.
2. [illegible] Coleridge, Letters of Coleridge.

fleeing perhaps from the dangers of a love which she felt for Fuseli. In Paris she came into contact with the radical group headed by Paine; here she met Imlay, loved him, and lived with him as his wife. Until February, 1794, she stayed in Paris; then she joined Imlay in Havre. In April, 1795, Mary and Imlay were together in London. In the last of May Imlay sent Mary to Norway and Sweden as his agent. On her return to London she discovered his unfaithfulness, and left him. Godwin, who had so cordially disapproved of Mary on his first meeting, had meanwhile read her Letters from Norway and Sweden.[1] We are not surprised that when he again saw her in September, 1796, he fell in love at once. It was not, however, until March, 1797, that they married, and then only because of Mary's approaching motherhood.

We shall soon see at how many points the life of Mary Wollstonecraft touched those of the Pantisocrats; we shall become increasingly convinced that her relations with the literary men of the time deserve careful study.

VII. The French Scene - Paine and his Coterie

A. The scene now shifts to Paris and to another group of young radicals. Among them, however, we shall recognize some old friends. Thomas Paine, discredited in England because of The Rights of Man, sails for Paris and is accorded such a welcome as is given only to princes. Salutes are

---

[1] Mary Wollstonecraft, Letters from Norway and Sweden. London, 1796.

fired, the air rings with Vive Thomas Paine, and he is elected member of the National Convention. For the moment, however, we are more interested in the group which Paine gathers around him than in the man himself. No. 63 Faubourg St. Denis will be remembered as a former residence of Madame de Pompadour. Here the mistress of Louis had held her merry fetes and smiled upon her favorites. Hither Thomas Paine came to live, and with him a little band of humanitarians. In a little essay on Forgetfulness addressed to his friend, Lady Smith, Paine describes these lodgings:

> My apartments consisted of three rooms; the first for wood, water, etc.; the next was the bedroom; and beyond it the sitting room, which looked into the garden through a glass door...I used to find some relief by walking alone in the garden after dark, and cursing with hearty goodwill the authors of that system that had turned the character of the Revolution I had been proud to defend...As it was summer, we spent most of our time in the garden, and passed it away in those childish amusements that serve to keep reflection from the mind,---such as marbles, Scotch hop, battledores, etc. at which we were all pretty expert. In this retired manner we remained six or seven weeks, and our landlord went every evening into the city to bring us news of the day and evening journals.[1]

B. The "we" included Mr. Christie (a nephew of Priestley) and Mr. Shepworth, an American; and M. Leborde, a scientific friend. In the evening they were joined by others - the Brissots, Bonneville, Captain Imlay, Mary Wollstonecraft, and the Rolands. Here Mary Wollstonecraft probably first met Imlay, the man who won her heart and became her lover.

---

[1] M. D. Conway, Life of Paine, p. 65.

tired, she sit tingle with Five Tongue Taing, and to be
elevated member of the Reluned Convention. For the moment,
however, we are more interested in the group which Taing
gathers around him then in the man himself. Mr. St. Cambert
St. Denis will be remembered as a former resident of
Kansas, on Kenwood St. Here the mistress of Louis had held
her merry teas and smiles upon her favorites. Rather
than Taing came to live, and with his a lively band of
humanitarians. In a little essay on Consecrations addressed
to his friend, Lady Smith, Taing describes these lodgings:

> My apartments consisted of three rooms: the first
> for wood, water, etc.; the back was his bedroom; and
> beyond it the main room, which look out upon a
> garden a plain lawn...lined on the side with
> walking along in the garden after dark, listening
> with beauty possible the sounds at that quiet
> hour whence the shoreline of the people, for I had
> read to defend...the new engine, is [illegible]
> one time in the garden, and begun [illegible]
> [illegible] A carriage must [illegible]
> [illegible] --- [illegible] Sooner [illegible]
> [illegible] It takes us more all [illegible] support. In this
> [illegible] Rather as [illegible] air for seven weeks, and a
> [illegible] Laboratory week every evening [illegible] play to [illegible]
> [illegible] of the [illegible] dwellers.[1]

The man labeled "Taing" is member of Friday's and St. Cambert's, an American and [illegible], a [illegible] friend. In the evening they were joined by others - the [illegible] Donnaville, Deutsch Italo, [illegible] and the Kohns. Here [illegible] Wolfsohn [illegible] but Friday, the man who was her lover and became her lover.

---

1. M. Cohen, Life at Paris, p. [illegible].

C. Delaying a moment at this point let us turn our thoughts to Crèvecoeur. We recollect that Crèvecoeur returned to France in July, 1790, and that in 1791 he went from Normandy, where he had been living with his father, to Paris. Again he passed the winter of 1794 and 1795 in Paris. Neither in his correspondence of this period nor in the biography of his grandson can we find much trace of the activities of those years. His grandson writes: "Il reste peu de traces de sa correspondance d'alors."[1]

Nor did he make many new friends. "D'un autre côte, il ne semble pas que Crèvecoeur ait fait à cette époque beaucoup de connaissances nouvelles."[2]

We find mention, however, of his connection with Brissot. "Peut-etre leurs relations avaient-elles commencé-a la Societaté des amis des noirs, etablie à Paris par Brissot en 1788."[3]

(This society was later merged into the society of the Friends of the Blacks, a Gallo-American affair, totalling 300 members. Brissot also had planned to settle with his wife in Pennsylvania, but was prevented from doing this by the calling of the Estates-General.)

We do know that Crèvecoeur was an intimate friend of Paine, for his grandson says:

---

1 Vie et Ouvrages, p. 167.
2 Ibid., p. 171.
3 Ibid, p. 183 ff.

> Ainsi, c'est Girard qui va voir un prisonnier mystérieux, dont'il est question pour la première fois dans une lettre du 9 decembre 1793; et qui est désigné sons le simple prénom de Thomas.
>
> Ce malheureux dévore les foibles ressources de Crèvecoeur. C'est 25, puis 50 livres par mois qu'il faut payer pour lui; ou lui donne des vêtements, des drapes, des couvertures, de l'argent, et encore il est mécontent. Cet homme si peu reconnaissant, dont son bien faiteur ne parle qu'avec un degoût mal deguisé, ne serait-ce pas Thomas Paine. Ce quaker anglais, américanisé puis francisé, ce conventional jadis si populaire qui expiait en prison ses liaisons, avec les brissotins, se "Tytée de bas étage" habitue à chercher l'inspiration dans sa bouteille d'eau-de-vie? Crèvecoeur l'avait beaucoup connu autrefois; peut-être l'avait-il on plus intimement depuis ces dernières années.[1]

We could hardly believe it possible that Crèvecoeur, since he was such a close friend of Paine, could have failed to call at 63 Faubourg St. Denis during his stay in Paris. And here he would have met Imlay and Mary Wollstonecraft.

1. Oliver Farrar Emerson has called attention to the close literary relationship between Imlay and Crevecoeur:[2]

1. Crevecoeur wrote LETTERS FROM AN AMERICAN FARMER.
2. Imlay wrote TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION, etc.
3. Both are in the form of letters to an English correspondent.
4. Both are believed fictitious.
5. Both praise the new country and represent it to Englishmen in the most favorable light.
6. Crevecoeur wrote twelve letters.

---

[1] Vie et Ouvrages, p. 19 ff.
[2] P.M.L.A., XXXIX, p. 408 ff.

7. Imlay wrote eleven letters.

8. Letter nine in each case deals with slavery, and opposes it vigorously.

2. The fact that Imlay's book had just been published (1792) would give rise to discussion of travel books on America, and would inevitably recall Crèvecoeur's earlier publication in 1782 and the later 1784 and 1787 books. If one author influenced the other, we must grant the credit of that influence to Crèvecoeur, who had published first. At any rate, such a striking resemblance would seem to argue familiarity on Imlay's part with Crèvecoeur's work. And if Imlay, then certainly Mary Wollstonecraft knew of the Susquehanna document.

3. An even surer connection between Mary Wollstonecraft and Imlay can be established from her LETTERS TO IMLAY.[1] In VIE ET OUVRAGES we read that Crevecoeur, being anxious to get his sons out of France, sent them to Havre in the autumn of 1792 where they stayed at the house of an American merchant, waiting a favorable opportunity to leave France. "Placés tous les deux chez un négociant américain. Ils attendaient qu'une occasion favorable leur permît de quitter la France..."[2]

Alexander left in October, but Louis stayed on until the merchant with whom he was living was called away, which made it necessary for Louis to return to his father in Paris,

---

[1] Edited by C. Kegan Paul, 1879.
[2] Vie et Ouvrages, p. 161 ff.

on February, 1794. "Le negociant chez lequel il était placé ayant quitté la ville, il dut, an milieu de février 1794, revenir près de son père."[1]

We know that Imlay was in the lumber business trading with Norway and London, with headquarters at Havre. It would appear, then, that the "negociant" might have been he. We know, too, that in September, 1793, Mary Wollstonecraft was in Paris, whence she wrote to her husband in Havre. Later she joined her husband in Havre, and then wrote to Imlay, who had been called away on business: "We are such creatures of habit, my love, that though I cannot say I was sorry for your going, when I knew you were to stay so short a time...yet I could not sleep."[2]

It seems possible, then, that Mary had met Crevecoeur, or been in communication with him as early as 1794. Pursuing this subject a bit further, we learn that Crèvecoeur was living at Altona, a suburb of Hamburg, in 1795. Curiously enough, it is from Altona that Mary writes to Imlay: "The house (where she was living in Altona) was recommended to me by an acquaintance of yours, the author of the American Farmer's Letters. I generally dine in company with him.."[3]

4. We know definitely, then, that Mary, Imlay, and Crèvecoeur were friends by 1795.

5. The importance of Crevecoeur's acquaintance with

---

[1] Vie et Ouvrages, p. 177.
[2] Letters to Imlay. March 12, 1794.
[3] Letters from Norway and Denmark, p. 254.

Mary Wollstonecraft lies in the fact of her subsequent marriage to Godwin, the close friend of Coleridge. Since Mary did not marry Godwin until 1796, and the idea of Pantisocracy was abandoned by the two friends in 1795, this influence would not have been possible except as it affected Coleridge alone. We remember that the Pantisocratic idea persisted with him until 1801. We may say, then, that she may have influenced Coleridge directly, or may have influenced both of them indirectly through letters written from Paris to London, in which she mentions Crèvecoeur and his Susquehanna letter. It is possible that such letters were written to a Mary Hayes, with whom Mary Wollstonecraft became acquainted during her life in London. Miss Hayes was herself an author and a friend of both Southey and Coleridge. She had been very intimate with Lloyd, who had publicly ridiculed the sentimental letters which she had written him. Coleridge wrote to Southey: "Miss Hayes I have seen. Charles Lloyd's conduct has been atrocious beyond what you stated."[1] Lamb, writing to Thomas Manning the next month, also refers to the same situation.[2]

Any information sent to Miss Hayes would doubtless have been mentioned to Southey or Coleridge. It is true that by the New Year (1793) Mary was cut off by the War from her friends in England, and for eighteen months she neither wrote to them nor heard from them. Hence any word sent

---

[1] Lamb's Letters, January 25, 1800.
[2] E. V. Lucas, Letters of Lamb, February 13, 1800.

Mary Wollstonecraft lies in the fact of her subsequent marriage to Godwin, the close friend of Coleridge. Since Mary did not marry Godwin until 1796, and the idea of Pantisocracy was abandoned by the war friends in 1795, this influence would not have been possible except as it affected Coleridge alone. We remember that the Pantisocratic idea persisted with him until 1801. We may say, then, that she may have influenced Coleridge directly, or may have influenced both of them indirectly through letters written from Paris to London, in which she mentions Grévesseur and his Susquehanna letter. It is possible that such letters were written to Mary Hayes, with whom Mary Wollstonecraft became acquainted during her life in London. Miss Hayes was herself an author and a friend of both Southey and Coleridge. She had been very intimate with Lloyd, who had publicly [illegible] the sentimental letters which [illegible]. Coleridge wrote to Southey: "Miss Hayes I have seen. Charles Lloyd's conduct has been atrocious beyond what you stated."[1] Lamb, writing to Thomas Manning the next month, also refers to the same situation.

Any information sent to Miss Hayes would doubtless have been mentioned to Southey or Coleridge. It is true that by the New Year (1795) Mary was cut off by the War from her friends in England, and for eighteen months she neither wrote to them nor heard from them. Hence any word sent

---

[1] Lamb's Letters, January 28, 1800.
[2] E. V. Lucas, Letters of Lamb, February 15, 1800.

from France must have been before that date.

We are tempted at this point to mention the high opinion in which Mary Wollstonecraft was held by both Southey and Coleridge. Southey writes: "Mary Imlay's (countenance) is the best, infinitely the best; the only fault in it is an expression indicating superiority; not haughtiness, nor sarcasm in Mary Imlay, but still it is unpleasant."[1]

The next month: "We are going to drive over Wednesday next with Mary Wollstonecraft--of all literary characters the one I most admire. She is a first rate woman, sensible, of her worth, but without arrogance or affection."[2]

Coleridge, two years later, speaks of Hartley's rapping Godwin on the shins when he was dining with them so that Godwin lectured Sara on his boisterousness... "but the cadaverous silence of Godwin's children is to me quite catacombish, and, thinking of Mary Wollstonecraft, I was oppressed by it the day Davy and I dined there."[3]

Later he writes: "Ugly-nosed Godwin! to take another wife with the picture of Mary Wollstonecraft in the house."[4]

IX. Wordsworth - a Possible Link

There remains to be mentioned a last possible connection between the Pantisocratic idea and Crèvecoeur - and that is Wordsworth.

---

[1] John Dennis, Life of Southey, March 13, 1797.
[2] Ibid., April 28, 1797.
[3] E. H. Coleridge, Coleridge's Letters, December 24, 1797.
[4] J. Dykes Campbell, Coleridge, February, 1804.

A. Let us first call attention to the fact that Wordsworth was, and had been for years, much interested in travel accounts. On his shelves were the Hakluyt Voyages, Carver's Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, June 1766-1769, Hearne's A Journey from Hudson's Bay, Bartram's Travels, and Shelvocke's A Voyage around the World.[1]

B. In the second place, a review of Wordsworth's life reminds us that he was in France from November, 1791, to February, 1793, a period of fifteen months. Just what urge led Wordsworth to France at this time is not clear. Professor George McLean Harper suggests that he may have been charmed by the manners and speech of the Frenchmen whom he had met during a long foot tour; or, more likely, that his sympathies with the Revolutionists led him thither. He already had some knowledge of the French language, and was studying several Romance languages with a view of fitting himself to teach them. Whatever his motive, he certainly found plenty of romance and adventure in France; at least, we guess that he did, though his biographers have been strangely silent concerning this period. Either little material has been available, or that which was available has been suppressed. All the world knows now of his romance with Annette, and of the daughter named Caroline whom she bore him. Our interest, however, is not so much with Wordsworth's love affairs as with the friendships

---

[1] Modern Language Notes: "A Glance at Wordsworth's Reading" by Lane Cooper. Vol. XXIII, p. 88, 110.

A. Dating from publication to the fact that he successfully was, and had done for years, much interested in travel accounts. On his shelves are the *Memoirs of Vidocq*, Darwin's *Journal during the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*, Jane Dieulafoy, Hedin's *A Journey from Jerusalem to Indian*, Burton's *Zanzibar*, and Livingstone's *A Travel Journal and Missionary*.

F. In the second place, a review of Tomlinson's book reminds me that he was in Ternate from November, 1921, to January, 1922, a period of different months. Later when we had occasion to inquire at Kilu's Bar he was absent. Professor Doctor Kohler letter, in fact, when he was here, showed that he was acquainted of the Tomlinson book but had never read it. Tomlinson, in fact, was quite a special friend of the Professor's.

Tomlinson served Jameson language with a view of visiting himself to Tanga Tara. However, he certainly found plenty of romance and adventure in Tomlinson's book, as every time he did, though his biographers have been frequently silent concerning this period. Either little material has been available, or this minor was available has been suppressed. All the world knows the of his romances with Annette, one of the daughter among Tanganyika who are born at Dar-Es-Salaam. However, he has not dealt with Tomlinson's adventures as with the Tanganyika

---

Note: Jameson's book: "A Tramp in Modern Africa", by J. de Cosse, Lond. Griffith, 1897.

which he may have formed in France.

1. Turning to his autobiographical memoranda, we find only this reference:

> In the autumn of 1791 I went to Paris, where I stayed some little time and then went to Orleans, with a view of being out of the way of my own countrymen, that I might learn to speak the language fluently. At Orleans, and Blois, and Paris, on my return, I passed fifteen or sixteen months. It was a stirring time. The King was dethroned when I was at Blois and the massacre of September took place when I was at Orleans, but for these matters see the Poem (Prelude). I came home after the execution of the King.[1]

When we consult The Prelude, we find it difficult to trace any of the principal events of his sojourn. Rather do we feel that we are reading the record of inward happenings - the journey of a soul. Not only is The Prelude baffling, but there is no correspondence to aid us. In fact, Professor Harper tells us that only one of the many letters which Wordsworth must have written from France has ever been printed. Any information must, obviously, be derived from other sources; hence we turn to a study of the French scene.

2. Orleans and Blois were interesting towns at this time in history. At both there were several literary and philosophical societies so characteristic of large French towns of the eighteenth century. Wordsworth was probably admitted to one or more of these. At Blois there was a political club known as Friends of the Constitution,

---

[1] C. M. Harper, William Wordsworth, His Life, 1916. Vol. I, p. 138.

which was the means by which the Jacobin Club of Paris exercised an influence over local affairs. There were over two hundred members, and even when there were no news from Paris to discuss, crowds assembled every evening to hear debates on the rights of man, new methods of education, and relations between church and state. It is easy to imagine that Wordsworth, young, intelligent, sympathizing with the Revolutionists, would frequent such meetings. Indeed, they must have furnished him a means of escape from the boredom of small-town Blois as well as a training in the French language. On February 3, 1792, two Englishmen were proposed for membership. It was finally decided that they should not be admitted as members, but might be allowed to attend the meetings. Quite probably Wordsworth was one of those two.[1] Wordsworth's connection with this club is important for one reason: Professor Harper in studying the registers at Blois, discovered that this club was particularly attached to Brissot[2] and his faction in Paris. His nephew, too, speaks of the "Brissotins with whom he (Wordsworth) was intimately connected." We shall keep this fact in mind when we examine his stay in Paris.

3. Most important of influences on the young poet at this time was his friendship with Michel-Armand Beaupuy, a Captain in the French army, whom Wordsworth met at Blois.

---

[1] G. M. Harper, Life of Wordsworth, vol. I, p. 155.
[2] The connection might have been with the Republican Club or the Societe Republicaine founded by Paine of which Brissot was probably a member.

which was the means by which the Seconds Club of Paris exercised an influence over local affairs. There were over two hundred members, and even when there were no news from Paris to discuss, crowds assembled every evening to hear debates on the rights of man, new methods of education, and relations between church and state. It is easy to imagine that Wordsworth, young, intelligent, sympathizing with the Revolutionists, could frequent such meetings. Indeed, they must have furnished him a means of escape from the boredom of small-town Blois as well as a training in the French language. On February 3, 1792, two Englishmen were proposed for membership. It was finally decided that they should not be admitted as members, but might be allowed to attend the meetings. Quite probably Wordsworth was one of those two.[1] Wordsworth's connection with this club is important for one reason: Professor Harper in studying the registers at Blois, discovered that this club was particularly attached to Brissot[2] and his faction in Paris. His nephew, too, speaks of the "Brissotins with whom he (Wordsworth) was intimately connected." We shall keep this fact in mind when we examine his stay in Paris.

C. Most important of influences on the young poet at this time was his friendship with Michel-Armand Beaupuy, a Captain in the French army, whom Wordsworth met at Blois.

---

1 C. E. Harper, Life of Wordsworth, vol. I, p. 183. The connection might have been with the Republican Club or the Societe Republicaine founded by Brissot of which Brissot was probably a member.

Beaupuy was thirty-seven - just old enough to have his opinions carry weight; though an army officer, he sympathized with the Revolutionists and was, therefore, shunned by his fellow-officers. In the eyes of Wordsworth he was a hero, and for three months the two were inseparable. Probably this young officer had more influence on Wordsworth than any other one person excepting Coleridge. He guided the young poet from the paths of vague idealism to practical love of humanity; he opened to him new fields of interest; he aroused his social consciousness; he gave him a new idea of history as the evolution of the human race. When Beaupuy departed in August, he left Wordsworth an ardent Revolutionist who, when he finally returned to Paris, dreamed of offering his life to the Girondists.

4. Information of Wordsworth's two visits to Paris (the four-days visit on the way to Orleans, and the ten-weeks stay on his return) is very meagre. In The Prelude he writes:

> Through Paris lay my radiant course, and there
> Sojourning a few days, I visited
> In haste, each spot of old or recent fame,
> The latter chiefly;.....
> .....In both her clamorous Halls
> The National Synod and the Jacobins,
> I saw the Revolutionary Power
> Toss like a ship at anchor, rocked by storms;[1]

Professor Harper presents a letter, hitherto unpublished,

---

[1] The Prelude, IX, 42 ff.

from Wordsworth to his brother Richard, written from Orleans and dated December 19, 1791. Wordsworth says at the close:

> I have said nothing of Paris and its splendors. It is too copious a theme; besides I shall return that way, and examine it more minutely. I was at the National Assembly, introduced by a member of whose acquaintance I shall profit on my return to Paris.[1]

5. In the same letter he mentions having a letter of introduction to Miss Williams, an Englishwoman, who had, however, left Paris before he arrived. This person was Helen Maria Williams, a poet and novelist, well known both in England and France; she was also one of the group of English who sympathized with the Revolutionists. But most important of all, she was either the wife or the mistress of John Hurford Stone, another English Revolutionist, associated with Priestley in England, and with Paine in France. Had we been able to prove that Wordsworth had met her in 1791, we should have established a direct link through her with the Paine group. We note, however, that Wordsworth, at the time of his death, had in his possession Helen Maria Williams's LETTERS FROM FRANCE and also POEMS by H. W. Williams, in which he had written "Sent me by the author from Paris"--W.W."

In October, 1792, Wordsworth, becoming impatient for another sight of Paris, returned to the metropolis. In The Prelude he pictures his emotions and restless agitation.

---

[1] G. M. Harper, William Wordsworth, p. 147.

He walked by the prison where lay the dethroned King, and gazed upon the half-ruined palace of the Tuileries.

> .....I gazed
> On this and other spots, as doth a man
> Upon a volume whose contents he knows
> Are memorable, but from him locked up,
> Being written in a tongue he cannot read.[1]

The Prelude records in detail only one other recollection of those ten weeks in Paris. Early the next morning, as he was walking through the quiet streets to the Palais-Royal, he heard the newsboys shouting "Denunciation of the crimes of Maximilian Robespierre". In the newspaper he read of the speech of Louvet, the Girondist, in his attempt to overthrow the Jacobin leader. And his heart sank as he learned of the desertion of Louvet by the other members of the Convention. Yet never for a single moment did he doubt the ultimate triumph of the Revolutionists.

6. Though we have so little information of Wordsworth's actual movements during the period, our very definite knowledge of his opinions and sympathies convinces us that he must have come into intimate connections with the Paine group at 63 Foubourg St. Denis. Even if he did not meet the Paine coterie, and discuss literature and emigration to America, it would be more than likely that, with his interest in travel books and his absorption in the French language, he would read Crèvecoeur's essay on the Susquehanna trips.

---

[1] The Prelude, X, 1-6.

C. The third point has to do with Wordsworth's return to England, and his subsequent life there. In his autobiographical memoranda, he writes:

> I came home before the execution of the King, and passed the subsequent time among my friends in London and elsewhere until I settled with my sister at Racedown..in 1796.[1]

1. It seems that his connection with the English Jacobins was much closer than has been generally admitted. From January, 1793, to September, 1795, Wordsworth had various sojourns in London amounting in all to many months, and at this time associated himself with radicals. As he expresses it

> Not in my single self alone I found
> But in the minds of all ingenuous youth,
> Change and subversions from that hour.[2]

2. It is logical to suppose that he would call frequently at the shop of Johnson, who was publishing his Descriptive Sketches. Here he would see Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, Dr. Priestley, Holcroft, and many others.[3] These men were free thinkers and dissenters. It was in 1794 that Dr. Priestley went to America. Wordsworth must have been one of the group who followed with interest his activities on the other side of the Atlantic.

---

[1] G. M. Harper, William Wordsworth, p. 182.
[2] The Prelude, X, 130.
[3] Professor Harper mentions Paine as a member of the group whom Wordsworth would meet. I cannot see how that would be possible since Paine left London in 1792 and stayed in Paris until 1802 when he sailed directly for America. Wordsworth did not get to London until February, 1793.

D. As to Wordsworth's knowledge of Pantisocracy, it seems probable that he had heard of it through Holcroft or Godwin as early as 1795. On September 11, 1794, Robert Lovell, the friend of Coleridge and Southey, wrote to Holcroft about the proposed scheme of emigration to America, and asked to be remembered to Nicholson and Godwin. Nicholson (a teacher of mathematics and also foreign agent for Thomas Wedgewood, patron of Coleridge) moved in Godwin's circle. It was with Nicholson that Wordsworth was in the habit of dining when he came up to London on Sundays. Such an interesting bit of gossip would have assuredly been passed from one friend to another.

E. The next question is when did Wordsworth come into communication with Coleridge. Here we must admit that no definite date of meeting has as yet been discovered, though there seems to be a tendency to put it earlier than formerly. J. Dykes Campbell says it may have been as early as September, 1795. Professor Harper believes that the meeting took place about the middle of 1795, during the period of strained relations between Southey and Coleridge. Gillman mentions an autograph letter from Wordsworth to Charles Matthews, in which he writes: "Tomorrow I am going to Bristol to see those two extraordinary men, Coleridge and Southey."[1] Harper gives several reasons why if Wordsworth were in Bristol he would certainly have met the Pantisocrats: In the first place they were unusual and marked people; Cottle, in his very natural desire to provide a market for

---

G. M. Harper, Opus cit., p. 278, note.

D. As to Wordsworth's knowledge of Pantisocracy, it seems probable that he had heard of it through Holcroft or Godwin as early as 1793. On September 21, 1794, Robert Lovell, the friend of Coleridge and Southey, wrote to Holcroft about the proposed scheme of emigration to America, and asked to be remembered to Nicholson and Godwin. Nicholson (a teacher of mathematics and also foreign agent for Thomas Wedgewood, patron of Coleridge) moved in Godwin's circle. It was with Nicholson that Wordsworth was in the habit of dining when he came up to London on Sundays. Such an interesting bit of gossip would have assuredly been passed from one friend to another.

E. The next question is when did Wordsworth come into communication with Coleridge. Here we must admit that no definite date of meeting has as yet been discovered, though there seems to be a tendency to put it earlier than formerly. J. Dykes Campbell says it may have been as early as September, 1793. Professor Harper believes that the meeting took place about the middle of 1793, during the period of strained relations between Southey and Coleridge. Gillman mentions an autograph letter from Wordsworth to Charles Matthews, in which he writes: "Tomorrow I am going to Bristol to see those two extraordinary men, Coleridge and Southey."[1] Harper gives several reasons why if Wordsworth were in Bristol he would certainly have met the Pantisocrats: In the first place they were unusual and marked people; Cottle, in his very natural desire to provide a market for

---

[1] G. M. Harper, Opus cit., p. 273, note.

their literary efforts, would be sure to talk about them; Coleridge was a noticeable man and gave public lectures; Southey was a native of Bristol and well connected. They were all young - Southey was twenty-one in August. Their peculiarities of dress, manners, and opinions must have made them objects of curiosity to the 60,000 inhabitants of the town.

Mrs. Wordsworth wrote Sara, Coleridge's daughter, who was seeking information as to the time of the first meeting:

> My husband bids me say....he has not as distinct a remembrance as he could wish of the time when he first saw your father... but the impression upon his mind is that he first saw them both.....in a lodging in Bristol. This must have been about the year 1795.[1]

Summary

We have tried to show that Crevecoeur was undoubtedly one of the influences which determined Coleridge and Southey to establish a settlement on the banks of the Susquehanna. In establishing this claim, we list, in brief review, the following points:

A. Crevecoeur's whole philosophy of life was in sympathy with the Pantisocrats. He was an idealist - not a land agent. His pages were filled with pictures bound to appeal to enthusiastic young dreamers; Crevecoeur at the plough, as his wife sat near him in the shade, knitting; the farmer peering out into the darkness of the storm; the

---

[1] November 7, 1845.

their literary efforts, would be sure to talk about them; Coleridge was a noticeable man and gave public lectures; Southey was a native of Bristol and well connected. They were all young - Southey was twenty-one in August. Their peculiarities of dress, manners, and opinions must have made them objects of curiosity to the 50,000 inhabitants of the town.

Mrs. Wordsworth wrote Sara, Coleridge's daughter, who was seeking information as to the time of the first meeting:

> My husband bids me say....he has not as distinct a remembrance as he could wish of the time when he first saw your father... but the impression upon his mind is that he first saw them both.....in a lodging in Bristol. This must have been about the year 1795.[1]

Summary

We have tried to show that Crevecoeur was undoubtedly one of the influences which determined Coleridge and Southey to establish a settlement on the banks of the Susquehanna. In establishing this claim, we list, in brief review, the following points:

1. Crevecoeur's whole philosophy of life was in sympathy with the Pantisocrats. He was an idealist - not a land agent. His pages were filled with pictures bound to appeal to enthusiastic young dreamers; Crevecoeur at the plough, as his wife sat near him in the shade, knitting; the farmer peering out into the darkness of the storm; the

---

[1] November 9, 1843.

pioneer at the land agent's, looking at lots laid out, as Crevecoeur says, like linen in a draper's shop.

How the soul of Coleridge would respond to these words:

> Yet to a philosophic eye, to a heart full of philanthropy, where is that part of the world that can supply an enlightened traveler with more pleasing ideas?[1]

B. A large group of people in England with common radical ideas, had intimate relations with Coleridge and Southey. Among them were Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, Priestley, and Wordsworth. Their dissatisfaction with life led them to a peculiar interest in emigration to a foreign country, especially to America. Priestley did emigrate, and so did Mary Wollstonecraft's brother.

C. Several members of this group were also in Paris during the Revolution, met often for discussion at Thomas Paine's, and must have come into contact with Crèvecoeur, who was also in Paris at that time. Paine and Imlay were native Americans, and Crèvecoeur had lived there many years.

D. Either Wordsworth or Mary Wollstonecraft (perhaps) through Godwin) on returning to England, could have passed on news (or even copies) of the Susquehanna document to Coleridge.

Thus a naïve farmer, an idealist, was moved to put on paper his thoughts of America, and his vision of the

---

[1] Sketches of the Eighteenth Century, p. 89.

possibilities of a Utopian life in the New World. And thus two young idealists, in a far away country, learning of these ideas, were fired with a resolve to realize the vision. Though the dream soon faded, we should hesitate to say that the whole Pantisocratic episode was nothing but a mere ripple in contemporary life of the eighteenth century. Rather was it an ideal which entered the stream of consciousness of that age, and has persisted down to the present generation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Ainger, Alfred, Life of Charles Lamb. Boston, Macmillan, 1899-1900. (Vols. IX-XII)

Bartram, William, Travels. New York, Macy-Masius, 1928.

Campbell, J. Dykes, Samuel T. Coleridge, a Narrative. Boston, Macmillan, 1894.

Coleridge, E.H., Coleridge's Letters. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1895.

Coleridge, S. T., Biographia Literaria. London, Dent, 1913.

" " " Epistolaris. " " 1911. (Vol. I, pp. 42ff.)

Conway, M. D., Life of Thomas Paine. New York, G. P. Putnam, 1909.

Cooper, Thomas, Some Information respecting America. Joseph Johnson, 1894. (pp. 48, 53, 73ff., 105)

Cottle, Joseph, Early Recollections. London, Longmans, 1837.

Cottle, Joseph, Reminiscences. New York, Wiley & Putnam, 1847.

Crevecoeur, J. Hector St. John de, Letters from an America Farmer. New York, E.P. Dutton, 1912.

Crevecoeur, J Hector St. John de, Sketches of the Eighteenth Century. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925.

Crevecoeur, Robert de, Vie et ses Ouvrages. Paris, Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1883.

Dennis, John, Robert Southey, the Story of his Life. Boston, D. Lothrop, 1887.

De Selincourt, Ernest, Dorothy Wordsworth. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1933.

Dowden, Edward, Life of Southey, Boston, Macmillan, 1884.

" " Correspondence with Caroline Bowles. Dublin, Wogan, 1881.

Fitzgerald, Maurice, Letters of Robert Southey. Oxford, 1912.

Gould, F. J., Thomas Paine. Boston, Small Maynard, 1925.

Griggs, E. L., Unpublished Letters of Samuel T. Coleridge New York, Columbia University Press, 1933.

Haller, William, Early Life of Southey. New York, Columbia University Press, 1917.

Harper, G. M., William Wordsworth, his Life and Influence New York, Scribner, 1916.

Hazlitt, William, Collected Works. London, Dent, 1902.

(Vol.II,pp.1-261)
(Vol. X,pp.120-158)

Knight, William, Letters of the Wordsworth Family. Boston Macmillan, 1907.

Legouis, Emile, Early Life of William Wordsworth. New York Scribner, 1897.

Linford, Madeline, Mary Wollstonecraft. Boston, Small Maynard, 1924.

Lowes, John L., The Road to Xanadu. Houghton Mifflin, 1927. (pp. 1-63 and notes)

Lucas, E. V., Works of Charles and Mary Lamb. Boston, Macmillan, 1913. (Vols. VI and VII).

Mitchell, Julia P., St. Jean de Crevecoeur. New York, Columbia University Press, 1916.

Moore, Thomas, Life and Letters of Byron. Boston, Macmillan, 1830. (Vols. I,II,VI).

Myers, F.W.H., Wordsworth. New York, Harper, 1901.

Parrington, V.L., The Colonial Mind. New York, Harcourt Brace, 1927. (Vol. I, pp. 140-147)

Paul, C. Kegan, William Godwin, his Friends and Contemporaries. London, Dent, 1876.

Paul, C. Kegan, Letters to Imlay. London, Paul and Co., 1879.

Sandford, Mrs. Henry, Thomas Poole and Friends. London, MacMillan, 1888. (Vol. I, pp. 95-105)

Shepard, E. H., Everybody's Lamb. New York, Harcourt Brace, 1933.

Southey, Charles C., Life and Correspondence of Southey. New York, Harper, 1851.

Southey, Robert, Journal of a Tour in the Netherlands. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1902.

Southey, Robert, Letters from England by Don Espriella. Boston, Monroe, Frances and Parker, 1808.

Talfourd, T. N., Literary Sketches and Letters of Charles Lamb. Philadelphia, D. Appleton, 1886.

Traill, H. D., Life of Coleridge. New York, Harper, 1901.

Trent, W. P., History of American Literature. New York, D. Appleton, 1903. (pp. 183-186).

Tyler, M. C., Literary History of American Revolution. New York, G. P. Putnam, 1897.
(Vol. I, pp. 452-474)
(Vol. II, pp. 347-358).

Watson, L. E., Coleridge at High Gate. New York, Longmans, 1925.

Wollstonecraft, Mary, Letters from Norway and Sweden. London, Johnson, 1796.

Wordsworth, William, The Prelude. (Riverside Press), Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1854.

Periodicals

Coleridge, S. T., "Letters to Southey", Atlantic Monthly, vol.73,pp.57ff.

Cooper, Lane, "A Glance at Wordsworth's Reading", Modern Language Notes, vol.23,pp.88-110.

Emerson, Oliver, "Notes on Gilbert Imlay", Publication of the Modern Language Association,vol.39,p.408.

Eugenia, Sister, "Pantisocracy and Travel Accounts", Modern Language Notes,vol.45,pp.1069ff.

Scott, Harold, " Southey's Letters", Atlantic Monthly, vol.89, pp.36ff.

Sherman, S.P., "Coleridge and the Susquehanna", Nation,vol.95, pp.330ff.

Miscellaneous

Cambridge History of American Literature (1933), pp.198-201.

Cyclopedia of American Literature by E.A. and G.L.Duyckinck, (1875),vol.I,pp.183ff.

Encyclopedia Britannica 14th edition,1929),vol.VI,p.688.

New International Encyclopedia(1927),vol.VI,p.256.

Library of World's Best Literature(1897), vol.IV,p.3843.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
1 1719 02555 7267